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A HISTORY
of
S W E D E N

By CARL GRIMBERG

*Translated and Adapted for the American
Teacher, Student, and Reader*

By C. W. FOSS



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PREFACE

At the request of the late Professor Jules Mauritzson, Head of the Department of Swedish in Augustana College, this publication was undertaken by the Augustana Book Concern. The publishers secured from the author, Doctor Carl Grimberg, of Djursholm, Sweden, permission to publish an English edition of his work, "*Sveriges Historia*," and also engaged the present writer to render the same into English.

The present volume is not a translation of any particular edition of the author's work, but of selections from different editions. Nor is it only a translation, it is also an adaptation to the American student and reader. Hence, a few omissions have been made of matters important, more especially, to students in Sweden, and conversely, a few additions have been made of matters which are of special interest to students and readers in America. The latter point applies especially to the last section of the book, the account of New Sweden and the mission among the Swedes on the Delaware, which is wholly original matter. Genealogical tables of ruling families, a brief bibliography, and a series of maps have also been added.

The work is designed for use as a textbook in high schools and colleges where courses in Swedish history are given, and also as a general reader for those who are interested in the history of the Scandinavian North.

In the division of the work into chapters and sections, a common practice in the make-up of American

textbooks has been followed. In translating the work I have not always aimed at a literal rendering of the original, but have rather sought to reproduce in English, as far as possible, the thoughts and sentiments so well expressed in the choice and simple language of the author.

In the second chapter, which deals largely with Norse mythology, I have purposely aimed at retaining an ancient and rhythmic style, which may at first seem strange to the reader. The object has been to breathe into the text the mythic atmosphere of that distant age. In Havamal and other ancient poems rhyme was not used, but instead a system of alliteration of which I have given one or two illustrations. Many of the author's quotations from these ancient poems have necessarily been omitted.

Special thanks are due to Doctor Grimberg for the use of a large number of the cuts from the original work; and to my wife, who has carefully read the manuscript and made many valuable suggestions.

Finally I would venture to hope that I may have succeeded in some measure in my efforts to present to the American reader and student the author's connected and charming picture of the land, the people, the religion, and the culture of the North during the long period of its development.

C. W. FOSS.

Rock Island, Illinois, January, 1935.

NOTE—This was the last work of Doctor Foss, completed shortly before his death, which occurred February 8, 1935.

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A HISTORY OF SWEDEN

CHAPTER I

THE PREHISTORIC TIMES

A. THE STONE AGE

The Glacial Period. It is not definitely known how long Sweden has been inhabited, but it is fairly well known how long it has been habitable. There was a time when a thick covering of ice spread over all northern and central Europe, such as we still find in Greenland. This time is known in geology as the Ice Age or the Glacial Period.

Sweden's First Inhabitants. This ice covering gradually melted away so that today only a few remains of this perpetual ice may be seen on the highest mountain tops in Sweden. Some 15,000 years ago this ice covering had disappeared from the southern part of the Scandinavian peninsula, making it fit for human habitation, and some time after this we find the first traces of human life there. As evidence of this, roughly wrought flint implements have been found in the soil of Skåne. Earlier remains of hoes of reindeer's horns have been found in certain parts of Denmark. The layers of earth in which these remains were imbedded were formed shortly after the passing of the ice age as proved by geological research. These finds indicate that the earliest inhabitants of Sweden came by way of Denmark. For a long time after the end of the ice

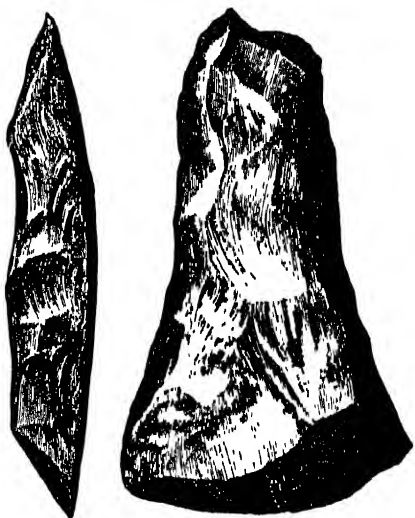
age the Scandinavian peninsula and the Danish islands formed a continuous land mass with the peninsula of Jutland, making the Baltic Sea a fresh water lake.

The earliest inhabitants of Sweden were most likely of a race different from that of the Swedes of today, whose earliest ancestors seem to have arrived at a later date.* Thanks to archaeological research we know tolerably well how these ancient ancestors lived.

Let us take a look at the country as it appeared four thousand or more years ago. Nearly its whole surface was then covered with dense forests, teeming with wild animals of the chase. Lakes and rivers were then larger and more numerous than now.

Inlets of the sea extended farther into the land. Large stretches of its present fertile lands were then sea bottoms or sandy wastes. The cultivated spots were small, and it required many days to go from one village to another.

The Dwellings of the Stone-age People. The best known village site from the early stone-age days lies



Flint Ax from the Old Stone Age, seen from two sides. Found in Skåne. One-half size.

* According to the opinion of the best anthropologists of today the modern Swedes are the descendants of the earliest inhabitants of their land.

in a field near Alvastra, which at that time was a shallow arm of a lake. Here have been found remains of a large raft of logs, and brushwood, which people more than four thousand years ago pushed out some three hundred feet into the marsh. On this artificial island they found protection against enemies and wild beasts. For whoever attempted to approach the place would sink helplessly into the mire, and the water was too shallow for the use of boats. Only on footbridges could any one reach the huts. Such bridges could readily be taken up at night, or upon the approach of an enemy. Remains of such bridges have actually been found near Alvastra.

In the same layers archæologists have also found remains of utensils, tools, and weapons of stone as well as offals or leavings from meals. From the latter, one may learn what sort of animals, tame and wild, the stone-age people lived on and hunted. Thus have been found the bones of four kinds of wild animals, now extinct in Sweden: the wild boar, the aurochs, the wild cat, and the beaver. From the hard and tough bones of the wild cat excellent bodkins were formed, and the long and sharp tusks of the beaver furnished splendid chisels.

On this artificial island, then, the people erected their huts, made of a framework of poles intertwined with twigs or reeds and plastered with mud or covered with sod. Near the shores of many of the lakes in central Europe remains of similar villages have been found. The huts have, however, been built, not on rafts, but on piles driven into the bottom of the shallow waters.

Generally, however, the stone-age people erected their dwellings on solid ground. For protection against attack, they constructed as an entrance a long, low, covered passageway, through which one had to crawl to get in. Such an entrance to the hut was a valuable invention. It served as a protection against wintry winds as well as against attack. Should an enemy come crawling through the dark passage he would not be in position to use his weapons to advantage and would be met by fierce dogs, the faithful family guard.

Let us make an imaginary visit to these huts. The most important piece of furniture in the hut is a stone used for a seat and which may also serve for a table. Bundles of fine twigs also serve for seats and at night for beds. The glowing fire on the stone hearth gives the place a cheerful, homelike appearance. At the one end of the hearth is a deep depression to rake the ashes and coals into.

Fire was kindled by the stone-age people in various ways: by striking flint and iron pyrites together and collecting the sparks in tinder or dry leaves and blowing them into a flame, or by rubbing rapidly and patiently two dry pieces of wood against each other, or by using a stick as a drill against a dry piece of wood and whirling it rapidly between the hands or by means of a cord.

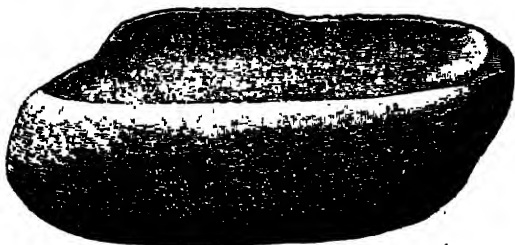
Food, Clothing, and Occupation. The village huts are now empty. It is the time of late summer. Most of the men are out on a hunt. Others have just returned with some fine fish, caught in the lake with bone hooks. Near the shore we see a few cows of stunted growth grazing, and near by a flock of sheep and goats

feeding. In the adjoining woods a herd of grunting swine are feasting on a rich supply of fallen acorns. A few small, shaggy horses also add to the wealth of the village. On the small cultivated clearings we see the ripening barley waving in the breeze. On other clearings the wheat has been harvested. A woman is busy grinding meal by crushing the grain in a stone mortar.



Bone Fishhook
from the Stone
Age. Found in
Skåne. One-
half size.

As evidence that the early stone-age people in Sweden practiced agriculture, there have been found on their village sites charred grains of the small variety of barley still cultivated in the most northern parts of Lapland. Remarkable, too, are the charred pieces of crab apples that have been found in various places. The apples were gathered in the fall, cut in sections, dried, and kept for winter use. Another of their means of sustenance during the long winters were hazelnuts. Large masses of shells found bear testi-



Stone Mortar. Found in West Gothland. One-eighth size.

mony to this fact. There has also been found a stone with a hollow in it in which the people evidently

cracked the nuts with smaller stones, which have likewise been found in the same place.

In another part of the village we see a group of women making garments of skins, or pelts. With bod-



Piece of Charred Apple.
Found in Alvastra.
Actual size.

kins made of the tough bones of the wild cat, they pierce holes near the edges of the skins and bind them together with fine threads or thongs of sinews, or tendons. This is their way of sewing. There is also another workshop in the village where an elderly man is engaged in making flint tools and weapons for war and the chase. Other kinds of stone he has shaped into

axes. Some tools are sharpened and polished by rubbing them against other stones and applying sand and water. So excellent are these stone implements that men today have been able with their use to fell trees and build a cabin with considerable ease.

Most of the flint used by the people of these villages came from Skåne and Halland, where it was quite plentiful. In Skåne many people were engaged in hacking loose with picks made of deer's horn clear lumps of flint from the large chalk beds found there. From these two provinces large quantities of flint were carried to the northernmost part of the peninsula by a system of traffic known



Flint Arrowhead.
Found in Skåne.
Actual size.

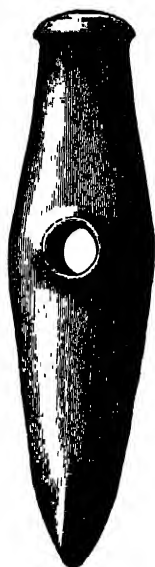
as barter, or the exchange of goods, for money had not yet come into use.

Suddenly there is a stir in the village. Some hunters have returned with a valuable catch. The object of the chase had not now, as ordinarily, been the deer or the wild boar of the neighborhood. The quest had been the powerful and stately aurochs. In the meantime, however, the hunters had encountered a pair of bears, and a life and death struggle ensued. To sustain life they were compelled to risk life. The hunters triumphed and brought home two fine bearskins and a large supply of meat. The women now bestir themselves to kindle fire in the huts and prepare the feast. The meat is cooked in a large earthen kettle suspended over the fire. The kettle appears to us coarse and clumsy, but not so to the



Flint Ax with wooden handle. Found in a peat bog in Denmark. Size one-ninth.

village people, who have even tried to ornament it by attempts at engraving and by various zigzag lines. Members of the family sit around in an expectant mood. When cooked, the meat is cut up into smaller pieces with flint knives. For forks, fingers are used.

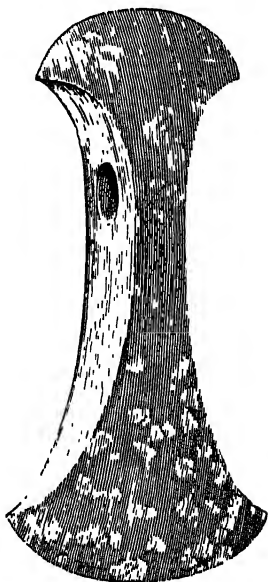


Polished Stone Ax. Found on Gothland. One-third size.

Race Connections. The people thus described were the ancestors of the modern Swedes. They belonged to the great Teutonic race, which in the course of time has differentiated and developed into the German, Dutch, English, Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish nations. By way of Denmark they entered Sweden and settled along the coast and along rivers and lakes; for there travel was easier than over the trackless land stretches, besides the fishing along the water routes furnished an abundant supply of food. Such travel was done by means of canoes, or boats, made of logs hollowed out by burning and hewing with stone axes.

Reasons for the Name Stone Age. The period thus described has been called the Stone Age, as the most important tools and weapons used by the people then were made of stone. Other materials such as bone, horn, and wood were also used, but as they are perishable only a few specimens of them remain to the present age. Practically all people of the world have lived through such a period. Among some wild tribes the Stone Age still exists.

Sources of Knowledge of These Early Times. No written records from these distant times exist. But there have been found in the soil of all northern lands



Polished Stone Ax. Found
in Skåne. One-half size.

large masses of tools, utensils, and weapons, such as have already been described. Most of the Swedish finds are preserved in the National Historical Museum in Stockholm. No other stone-age people have left specimens showing as fine workmanship as the Scandinavian.

Tombs from the Stone Age. There are also many stone tomb-structures, showing how the dwellings of that day looked. For the stone-age people, here as in other lands, believed that life after death resembled life on earth. Hence, it was a custom among them to build habitations for the dead like those of the living, but of more durable material. For the same reason they also supplied the dead with food and raiment, utensils, and weapons.

In Sweden such tombs are sacred. No one is allowed to disturb them. Other ancient remains belong to the finder, but if the article is of gold, silver, copper, or bronze it must be offered to the state, which pays an eighth more for it than the value of the metal.

In peat beds, once lake bottoms, there have been found also articles of *wood* from the stone age, as for instance canoes of hollowed-out oak logs. Peat has a wonderful quality for preserving from decay.

These many remains suggest to us a remarkable story of development. The record of this development effected by the Swedish people through toil and struggle, generation after generation, step by step, from the Stone Age to the Age of Steam and Electricity is the History of Sweden. The challenge to the present generation is through its efforts to continue this story.

B. THE BRONZE AGE

(About 2000 to 600 B.C.)

The Introduction of Bronze. About four thousand years ago reports from the South reached the stone-age people in the North of a wonderful "stone," which could be melted by heat and formed into strong tools, sharp weapons, and beautiful ornaments that glowed like fire in the sunlight. This was bronze, that is, copper made harder and more fusible by being alloyed with tin. Gradually by the process of barter one bronze article after another found its way to the North. Little by little the stone-age people learned the art of working the bronze, and thus it came into general use. The Bronze Age had begun.

Nearly all of the many bronze articles found in Sweden were made there, and the best of them surpass in tastefulness those of most of the other European lands.

Naturally the use of stone implements and weapons did not end with the coming of the Bronze Age. The metals composing the bronze had to be imported from other lands, for tin has not been found in Scandinavia, and copper was not mined in Sweden till hundreds of years after the end of the Bronze Age. Bronze was, therefore, expensive, and poor people had to continue the use of stone, especially for heavier tools and for arrowheads and other weapons subject to frequent loss.

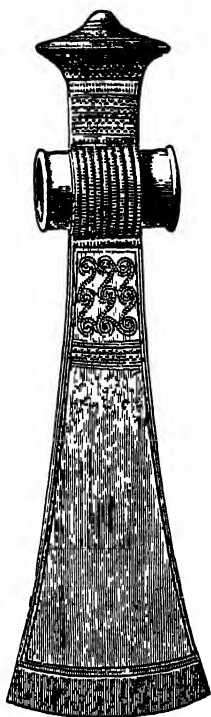
The Importation of Bronze. Bronze was imported chiefly from the regions of the Danube and carried northward on the great German rivers. Waterways furnished the best means of transportation in the early days, when scarcely any highways were found any-

where, and so they continued to be for thousands of years. Even today, in the age of railroads, heavy and bulky articles are usually shipped by water. In exchange for bronze the northern people offered furs and more especially amber, a petrified resin from a species of fir now extinct. Amber was then found in large quantities along the southern shores of the Baltic and the North Sea, where it may still be found. It has a rich yellow color and takes a fine polish. It was in great demand for necklaces and other ornaments. Many articles of amber have been found in ancient tombs in both Italy and Greece.



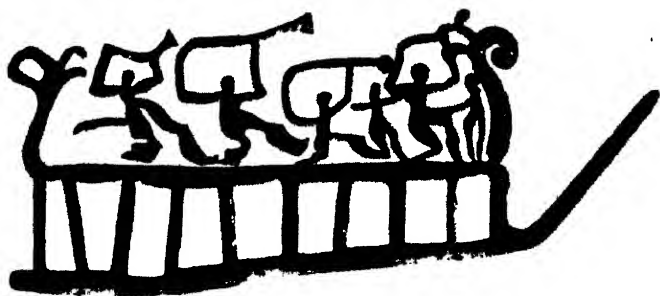
Bronze Sword.
Found in West
Gothland. Size
one-sixth.

Rock Inscriptions. Even merchants and sailors from the North took part in this traffic. Rock inscriptions, especially in Bohuslän, are evidences of this fact. There inscriptions reveal to us much of the life, both in war and peace, of these prehistoric times, and much more would we know if we could fully understand the meaning of these mysterious inscriptions.



Bronze Ax. Found on
öland. One-third size.

They often indicate considerable artistic taste and skill. What life, what joy, what action do the dancing men with their trumpets show in the accompanying figure! Their dance and music are in all probability performed in honor of some god, perhaps the sun god. The sun's disk is often pictured in these inscriptions, as for instance in the next picture, where it is found in two places. The object of this worship of the sun god was most likely to invoke the sun to shine and pro-



Rock Inscription at Lyeke in Bohuslän.

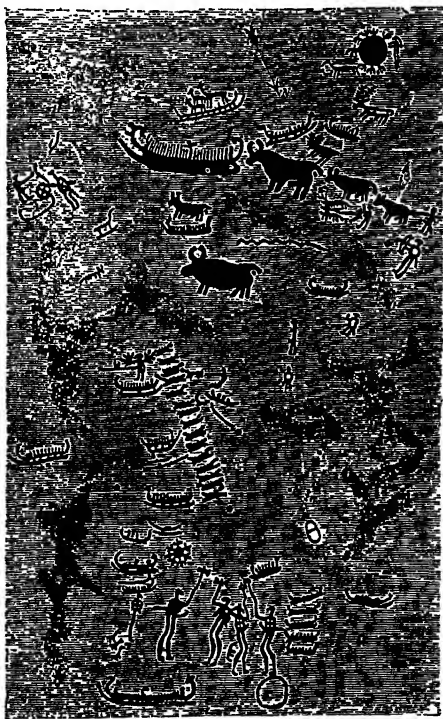
duce rich crops. The pictures of boats may also represent the sun as the sun god was believed to sail across the heavens in a boat.

But should a drought prevail, the pictures of axes are inscribed to solicit rain and thunder. The ax was even in the stone age a symbol of thunder. Later its emblem became the god Thor with his stone ax. Thus these inscriptions had most likely a religious significance, intended to secure favorable weather and rich harvests. This interpretation seems the more likely since the inscriptions are in close proximity to the most

fertile agricultural lands. For success with herds and flocks the bronze-age people inscribed pictures of domestic animals, and with wild animals for the success of the hunter.

The Tombs.

The burial places from the later bronze age contain remains of burnt bones, as the practice of cremation spread over the greater part of Europe. This would indicate that the people now believed that the soul could exist without the body. This custom prevailed in the North for about 2,000 years. An Arabian traveler writes that he once witnessed in



Rock Inscription. Found in Bohuslän.

Russia the burning of the dead body of a northern sailor in his ship. When he exclaimed his surprise at this he was answered by one who participated in the obsequies: "You Arabs are a stupid people, you take the body of a loved one and place it in the ground,

where worms and crawling things consume it. We on the other hand burn it and instantly release the soul for admission to paradise."

C. THE IRON AGE

(From about 600 B.C.)

The Introduction of Iron. After its use in the North for nearly 1500 years bronze was replaced with iron, and the Iron Age began. With iron tools the forests could more easily be cleared and the soil cultivated. Thus want would not immediately follow the failure of the chase.

The Sources of Iron. The first articles of iron, like those of bronze, came from the South. But the Swedes soon learned the value of their rich supply of bog iron ore, rust-colored masses of ore deposited in lakes and marshes. By a simple melting process this ore was readily reduced to iron, which could then be shaped into tools and weapons. Up to the thirteenth century of our era this was the only iron ore worked in Sweden, and in distant parts of the country this ore is still worked.

Sepulchral Monuments. During the Iron Age graves were generally marked with mounds, or barrows. Such burial mounds from the Iron Age are the three immense mounds at Old Uppsala known as "Kungshögarna" (Kings' Mounds). At the opening of the third century the practice began of erecting rune stones to the memory of departed relatives and friends, that is, stones inscribed with runes, letters of the oldest Teutonic alphabet.

The Art of Writing. This wonderful art, enabling one to communicate with people at great distances and to perpetuate truth and knowledge, is one of the many gifts that Europe owes to the East. On wild or savage people it often gives the impression of witchcraft. What amount of thought and effort must have been given by numbers of men to invent this art, which even a child can now learn in a short time! Along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean a thousand years



Kings' Mounds, Old Uppsala.

before Christ the symbols were invented from which our alphabet is derived. Other Oriental peoples had in earlier days used a symbol for each word or syllable, and to be able to read and write they had to have a knowledge of thousands of signs. The new method (Syrian) used a sign for each elementary sound, and, hence, only some twenty signs were required. These could be combined to form any word in the language.

This simplified method of writing was introduced to the European peoples by the Phœnicians, the world's earliest traders, who also acquainted the West with many other Oriental arts and inventions. This alphabet first reached the Greeks, and from them it passed to the Romans.

At the time of Christ the Romans were the masters of a very large part of the known world. In Europe they extended their sway to the Danube and the Rhine, and came in contact with many of the Teutonic tribes. With them they carried on a brisk trade, which extended even into Sweden, carrying with it large quantities of coins, utensils of bronze, glassware, weapons, and ornaments. In recent times large numbers of such articles have been dug up from Swedish soil. With this traffic came also the knowledge of the alphabet.

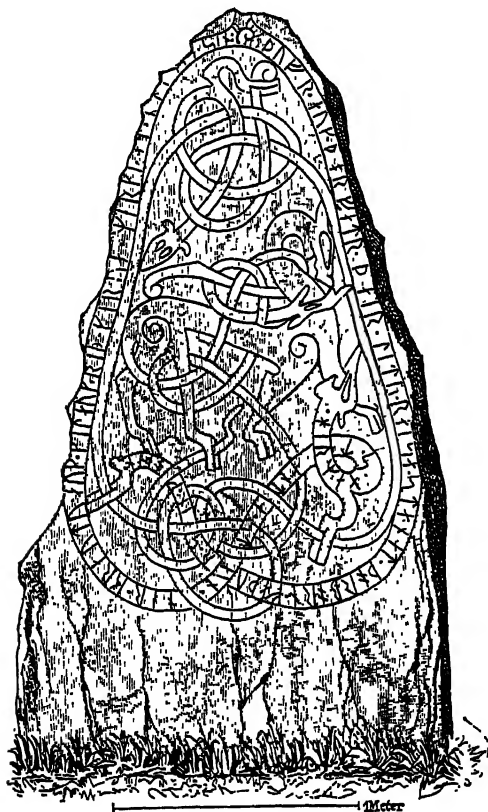
The older Runic alphabet in use in early times by all the Teutonic tribes numbered twenty-four letters. After the Scandinavian people had differentiated from the other Teutons in language only sixteen letters were needed. These are known as the Younger Runes and were used only in the North. They were the following:

ƿ	ᚠ	ᚢ	ᚦ	ᚫ	ᚱ	:	*	ᚹ	ᚺ	ᚾ	:	ᚦ	ᚢ	ᚹ	ᚾ		
f	u	t	h	o	r	k		h	n	i	a	s	t	b	l	m	r

The Runic inscriptions are usually short, only stating to whose memory and by whom the stone had been erected. The good qualities of the departed are often named. "A good peasant," "A very good man" are common expressions. Sometimes whole verses are inscribed on the stones, as for instance:

Torsten had
 this stone erected
 to himself and
 son of his, Hefne.
 Gone to England
 had the youth,
 died thus, at home
 to much sorrow.

The Great Migration. Everything is perishable. The Roman Empire had its day. The wealth of the Orient flowed thither, and the temperate and sturdy



Rune Stone in Ryda, Uppland.

Romans became effeminate pleasure seekers. Then came the strong and hardy Teutonic tribes from the North, seeking more fertile lands and lured on by the

sight or report of the glories and wealth of Rome. They soon learned the weakness of the great Empire and began to invade, to plunder, and to conquer most of the western provinces. In these they gradually founded new states, some of which formed the beginning of several European nations of today. This occurred mainly during the fifth century of our era. This invasion of the Roman Empire by the Teutonic tribes is known as the "Great Migration," or the "Wandering of the Nations."

Some of the most powerful of these Teutonic invaders traced their origin to the Scandinavian peninsula. And even after they had penetrated into the Empire they maintained a close connection with their kindred in the old homeland. Trade between Scandinavia and more southern lands now became more active than before. Immense quantities of plunder from the Empire, in gold and ornaments, reached Sweden, and the Italians adorned themselves with fine furs from the North.

Still more of the wealth in gold plundered by the invaders reached Sweden as pay to soldiers from the North, who joined the invading armies in the South. From the North to the South there was a constant stream of adventurers eager to seek their fortunes. "Like bees from the hive they swarmed out," says a historian of that day. But as a rule those who were not killed returned home after completing their service.

In the National Historical Museum, in Stockholm, there is preserved an astonishing wealth of gold treasures from this period, which have been found imbedded

in the soil.* Some of the ornaments were undoubtedly made in Sweden and bear testimony to the fine artistic skill of the Swedish goldsmiths of that day.

CHAPTER II

THE NORTH DURING THE NINTH CENTURY

A. GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS

Growth of Villages. The population of Sweden had greatly increased during the thousands of years of development we have now been following. Owing to their improved tools the people had been enabled to make life pleasanter and more comfortable. The small villages along the waterways had grown into wide districts with fields and meadows, bounded by mountains and forests where wild beasts and robbers made travel unsafe. Hence, people, as far as possible, traveled by water on lakes and rivers.

Larger Divisions of the Country. A difficult boundary to cross was formed by two immense forests, Tiveden and Kolmården, separating the land of the South (Sunnanskog) from that of the North (Ovanskog). The former was the land of the Goths, the latter that of the Sveas. The most important region of the Goths was West Gothland with Dal along Lake Vänern. The land on the east side of Lake Vättern was known as East Gothland. The many small districts

* Many of these gold finds weigh between two and three pounds troy. The largest of these treasures was found in 1774 near Trosa. It consisted of gold ornaments with an aggregate weight of nearly 33½ pounds troy, with a metal value of over \$8,000.

to the south of Lake Vättern were collectively called Småland. The coast of Kalmar Sound and the islands of Öland and Gothland were also settled in early days. The chief territory of the Sveas was known as Uppland. The land to the south of it was called Södermanland and that to the west, Westmanland. "Land" was the name given to a larger community of villages, and it corresponds to the present "Landskap" (Shire or County). Very early, perhaps even during the Stone Age, these people of the North extended their settlements to the Åland Islands and the southern and southwestern coasts of Finland.

The Norwegians and Danes. The Norwegians seem to have settled first around the coasts of Bohuslän and the fjords about Christiania and Trondhjem; the Danes along the Belts and Öresund. From Skåne they spread to the regions of Halland and Blekinge.

Petty Kingdoms. In each "Landskap," or the greater part of it, the ablest man became leader in war and chief in time of peace, and was accorded the title of King (Fylkeskonung). Hence, the Scandinavian lands at this time contained a large number of petty kingdoms.

B. MODE OF LIFE

At a Peasant's Homestead. Let us visit a wealthy peasant's home on a winter evening during this period. The homestead is composed of several buildings with but one room in each: one building is the kitchen, another the bedroom, a third the pantry, etc. We enter the largest of them, a long hall, where all the members of the family are assembled. On long benches fixed to

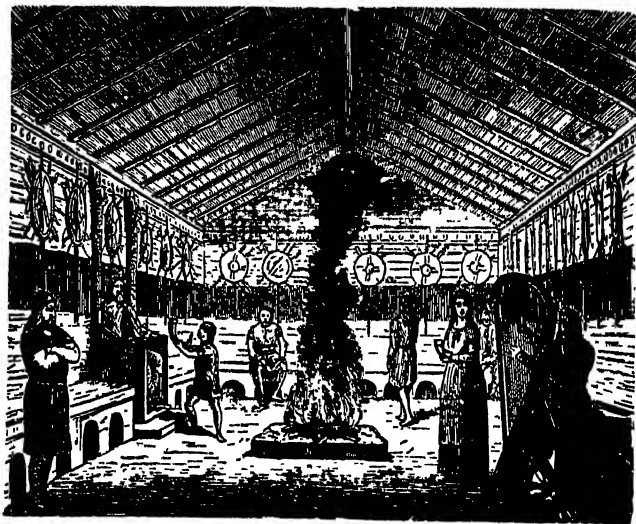
the wall the men are engaged in some handicrafts. The women are spinning and sewing, while singing at their work. At the middle of one of the long walls the house-father has his seat of honor between two pillars richly carved with images of the gods. High and mighty he sits there, lording it over all in his house. He it is who decides whether a newborn babe shall be allowed to live or be exposed in the wilds to perish. It was, however, considered a disgrace for any one not in want to let a strong and shapely child perish.

But the wife, too, held an influential and responsible place in the house. Many instances are handed down from this time to show that a true devotion often existed between man and wife. A respected peasant was once burned to death in his own house. The enemies offered escape to the wife, but she replied, "When young I was joined to my husband. I promised then that our fate should be one." So she shared her husband's painful death.

In the center of the room, on an open hearth of flat stones, a fire is burning. The smoke curls as it rises and finds an outlet in an opening in the ridge of the roof. The house resembles the primitive cabins that may still be seen in out-of-the-way places. In the daytime the house is moderately lighted through openings in the walls or roof. But now the flames from the hearth light up the room and give a glow to the polished shields, battle-axes, and swords, hanging on the wall ready to be seized at a moment's warning, for the times are fierce and bloody.

At any moment an attack may be expected. For a few days ago a son of this family engaged in an angry

quarrel with a man of another family, and in the fight which ensued he slew his antagonist. Now it became a sacred duty of the kin of the slain to exact a blood feud of the slayer, or some member of his family or kin. To exact the blood feud, or revenge, was the duty of all the men of the family of the slain and even of



Early Northern Guest Room.

related families. This might set one group of families in arms against another for generations. The young only bided the time when they might be old enough to avenge their fallen kinsmen. Thus the slaying of one man might result in the mutual destruction of whole families.

Northern Hospitality. The door opens. But he who enters is a welcome guest, an aged wandering singer

and scald. He is hospitably received, for much has he seen of the world, and much does he know, and is therefore highly revered:

"No better burden
Bears one on his way
Than wisdom mickle;
More than goods and gold
It gives the stranger —
Affords the strayed a shield."

So says Havamal (Song of the high one, that is, Oden's song), a didactic poem of practical wisdom.

The guest is conducted to a seat of honor and is invited to share in the evening meal, which is now served on long tables placed before the benches. After the repast, he is handed a drinking-horn filled with frothing mead. Then he begins to recite the many things he has seen and heard in the world without.

C. ANCIENT NORTHERN MYTHS

Thor, Oden, Frey, Njord, and Heimdall. Then he begins to sing of gods and of heroes; of mighty Thor, who drives with his span of goats till the heavens resound with rumble and roar, and with the lightning strokes of his huge battle-ax crushes the giants, offspring of evil. Then of Oden he sings, the All-father, who rides to battle on Sleipner, his eight-footed steed, accompanied by his ravens twain, who acquaint him with all that occurs in the world. One of his eyes has Oden pawned to Mimer, the guardian of wisdom's spring, for the privilege of drinking its water. The scald sings, too, of Frey, the ruler of rain and of sunshine; and of Njord, the god of the air and the winds.

Of Heimdall he sings, the warder of gods, who from his rainbow bridge in the sky can see for a hundred leagues in every direction and hear how the grass grows.

Balder and Loke. Reverently all give ear to the song of Balder the gentle, who suffered death through the wiles of the treacherous Loke. A shudder there passed through the hall as the singer recited how as for punishment Loke was bound to a rock with his own son's intestines, and how a venomous serpent, dripping with poison, was placed right over the culprit. But, so the singer continued, his faithful spouse stood beside him, and in a bowl collected the poison, and when she turned to empty the bowl, straight into the face of Loke the dripping poison descended. Loke then writhes and twists in his pain till all the earth trembles. This is what people now call an earthquake.

Life in Asgard, the Home of the Gods. Silent the old man sits. Thoughtful silence prevails 'mong the hearers. But by and by they request the scald to continue. More they desire to hear, to hear of the life of the gods, the Asas, in Asgard, where Frigg, Oden's spouse, is foremost 'mong women, where Freya, goddess of love and of beauty, resides, and Idun, who gives to gods and to goddesses apples to eat, apples of youth everlasting.

The Song of Creation. Then followed the song, long hoary with age, the song of creation: In the beginning of time there existed one world of fire, and another of frost, and between them a gulf known as Ginungagap. Into this gulf fell sparks from the fire-world on ice from the frost-world. Thus arose Ymer,

the mighty sire of the giants; likewise arose the cow Ödhumla, from whom the Asas of Asgard trace their descent:

“Twas the source of the ages,
When Ymer builded.
No sand was, nor sea,
Nor soothing billows.
No ~~earth~~ heaved itself up,
Nor heaven above.
Gaping gulf there was,
But grass was not.”

The gods slew Ymer, and of his flesh the earth they made, of his bones the mountains they built; from his hair the forests arose, the sea from his blood, his skull was the sky. The Asas then formed the first human pair from two trees, Ask and Embla (Ash and Elm).

But change and decay prevail in the world the Asas created. Transitory, too, is the power of the Asas. Subject are they to the Fates, to the Norns, the goddesses three, who sit at the roots of the Yggdrasil ash ever verdant, whose roots and whose branches encompass the world.

A time will come when Ragnarök, the end of the world, approaches. In nature ominous signs will appear, foreboding the end: the moon disappears, the sun turns to darkness, and stars from the heavens are hurled. Terrible storms arise, and all evil powers are loosened.

Loud Blows Heimdall his watchman's horn, calling the gods to the last, the decisive fight with the powers of evil. And last of all Surt, god of fire, throws out his consuming flames o'er the earth.

But out of the tumult behold a new world arise, with verdure renewed, where fields unplanted yield fruits, where all evil is changed, and Balder returns. A hall, too, behold, with gold all bedecked, and fairer than sunshine, where virtuous throngs of good people dwell in joy everlasting. Then comes the Mighty One, whose name no one dares mention, to judge and to rule over all, and justice and peace to establish, to ordain and declare what shall ever be sacred.

All these myths as well as songs of ancient heroes were gathered in Iceland, during the Middle Ages, in a collection known as the Elder or Poetic Edda.

D. THE ANCIENT RELIGION OF THE NORTH

The Worship of the Gods. The gods were worshiped by sacrifices of animals, especially horses, or of human beings, which was the highest sacrifice. With the blood of the sacrificial victims the images of the gods were overspread. The flesh of the sacrificed animal was eaten at the sacrificial feast. Such feasts were noisy and immoderate in both food and drink. In Havamal we read:

“Not near so good,
As good they say,
Is ale for humankind:
The more you drink,
The less you know
Whither your sense has fled.”

The sacrifice was conducted by the housefather. No special priests were found. The chief feast was at midwinter, or yuletide. A hog was then sacrificed to Frey, the god of sunshine and rain. If any one intended to carry out some enterprise during the year,

he would lay his hand on the victim, make his vow, and drain the votive cup.

A *Warlike Religion* was the old Asa-faith. Oden was not only the sun god, he was also the god of war. When battle raged, his war maidens, the Valkyries, riding on fiery steeds, came forth to conduct the fallen heroes to Oden's colossal abode, Valhall (the fallen warriors' hall). Here they lived a life which to the ancient Northmen was the height of happiness. Every morning they went forth to battle, and in the evening all wounds were healed; and reconciled, the combatants rode back to Valhall. There they were regaled with flesh of a hog butchered each night, but restored to life each morning; and with frothing mead served by the maidens of Oden, the Valkyries. But cowards came to the dismal underground abode of pale-faced Hela, the grim goddess of death. Death was terrifying only to those who feared it.

"The cowardly knave
Hopes death to escape,
If combat he shuns,
But old age will not grant
Any peace unto him,
Though the spear may have spared him."

So says Havamal. To die of old age was not considered glorious. It is recorded of men who did not meet death in battle that in their old days they would cut their arteries with a spear and bleed to death or throw themselves over a precipice.

E. CHARACTERISTICS AND CUSTOMS OF THE NORTHMEN

Courage and Endurance. Children were early made acquainted with dangers and conflicts. They were trained in labors and sports that required courage and presence of mind. The boy had to learn to help himself. In many places playgrounds were found, where the youth gathered for athletic contests, such as ball games, jumping, wrestling, etc.

Accustomed to bloodshed, the men became hard and cruel. But they could also endure torture without a word of complaint. A story is told of a man named Gunnar, who was attacked one evening at his home. From his window he hurled a spear into the waist of the man sent to spy out if he were home. The wounded man tottered to the hiding place of his comrades. "Is Gunnar at home?" they asked. "Look for yourselves; I have indeed found out that his spear was at home," replied the man as he fell dead. And think of Ragnar Lodbrok who in the snake pit sang, "Smiling shall I die."* Havamal gives the following picture of a first-class warrior:

* The close of Ragnar Lodbrok's swan song as rendered into English by Herbert reads thus:

"Cease, my strain! I hear a voice
From realms where martial souls rejoice.
I hear the maids of slaughter call,
Who bid me hence to Oden's hall.
High-seated in their blest abodes,
I soon shall quaff the drink of gods.
The hours of life have glided by;
I fall, but smiling I shall die."

“Wise and reserved
Be the king’s son
And brave in battle,
Glad and mirthful
E’er among men,
While his bane he bideth.”

Skill in Battle. The skilled warrior Gunnar, already referred to, is pictured in an ancient story, when he alone fought a whole band of enemies. One hurled his spear against him, but he caught it in his shield. In a moment he freed himself from the useless shield, which with a mighty thrust he planted upright in the ground. Then seizing his sword, with a motion no eye could follow, he struck off the man’s hand above the wrist, and it fell to the ground. Another of the foe rushed at him from behind with battle-ax aloft, but quick as thought Gunnar turned and knocked the upraised ax out of the enemy’s hand and sent it whizzing into the river below. Then with another stroke of his ax he felled the enemy to the ground. A spear came whizzing against him. He caught it in its flight and hurled it back at the foe with such force that it passed clean through the man. Another antagonist was aiming with his sword to cut off his leg below the knee, but Gunnar leaped into the air and the stroke missed. In another moment Gunnar with his spear-ax thrust him through. His brother then came to his assistance and a complete victory was achieved.

Slavery. Such was the freeman’s life. But in the North there were also slaves. They consisted principally of captives taken in war and their descendants. But it also happened at times that poor people volun-

tarily surrendered themselves as slaves to secure a living. The master had the right to treat his slaves as he pleased. They were bought and sold as cattle. But the sagas also tell of good and capable slaves, who were well treated, intrusted with the master's stewardship, and finally rewarded with freedom.

F. RISE OF THE THREE NORTHERN KINGDOMS

Sweden. In the course of time, the adjacent provinces, or petty kingdoms, were consolidated under the most powerful of the petty kings. In this way were formed the three northern kingdoms. In Sweden this work was accomplished by the Uppsala king. Tradition relates that Ingjald Illråde by cunning and violence subdued one petty kingdom after another. The kingdom of Sweden was then smaller than now. The Island of Gothland remained for some time practically an independent kingdom. It was a long time, however, before the different Swedish provinces coalesced into a real kingdom.

Denmark. Like Sweden, Denmark was consolidated into a kingdom during the ninth century. It was composed of the peninsula of Jutland, the Danish islands, and two provinces in southern Sweden: Skåne and Halland. Later the province of Blekinge was also included in Denmark.

Norway. The last of the Scandinavian kingdoms to consolidate was Norway. This was accomplished by one of its petty kings named Harold Fairhair. He had vowed not to cut or comb his hair until he had secured the lordship of all Norway. One petty king after an-

other was subdued. He finally won a great victory in a bloody naval battle near Stavanger, probably in the year 872. All Norway was now his. The Swedish provinces of Bohuslän, Herjedalen, and Jemtland fell to Norway. Harold then cut his long hair and combed it, and was ever afterwards known as Harold Fairhair.

Iceland and Greenland. But there were many sturdy chieftains who would not recognize the new ruler or pay taxes to him on their estates. They emigrated to Iceland, then newly discovered. Two years after Harold's great victory the first colonists arrived. Hither came year after year the most vigorous of Norway's leading families, who would rather leave home than submit to Harold. But the memories from home they faithfully preserved, and it is to the Icelanders that we are indebted for the preservation of the noble Edda songs. Much of what is known of the earliest history of the North is derived from records made in Iceland. The most noted of Icelandic historians is Snorre Sturlasson, who has written many tales of northern kings. He died during the thirteenth century.

An Icclander on a voyage of adventure discovered Greenland. This, too, was colonized by Northmen. One of them, Leif Ericsson, on a voyage, about 1000 A.D., was driven off his course toward the southwest and reached a land of great forests and plains, where grain and grapes grew wild. The Northmen called it Vinland. It was the east coast of North America. In the course of time this discovery was forgotten, and when Columbus made his celebrated voyage to America in 1492, no one seemed to know anything about this earlier discovery.

CHAPTER III

PERIOD OF THE VIKINGS AND THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY

A. THE VIKING EXPEDITIONS — A NORTHERN
MIGRATION

Viking Expeditions in General. We imagine a spring day, about the year 800; a ship is anchored in one of Uppland's inlets ready to set sail. The men have just loaded a cargo of furs and other goods for trade in foreign lands. But where there is wealth, and opportunity offers, they expect to take by force what they want. For at this time trade is coupled with plunder. This was regarded as a legitimate means of livelihood, just like hunting and fishing, and it might afford the brave a much richer reward than the daily toil at home. The northern lands were poor and but little cultivated. Agriculture was carried on in a primitive way, the soil was rarely fertilized and was but poorly worked. Famines were, therefore, frequent, and the people were led to rob and plunder richer lands.

They are adventurous men who engage in these enterprises. One of the haughty chiefs who will not yield obedience to the Uppsala king conducts the voyage out over the free and open sea, to win renown and become a mighty sea-king. Such piratical voyages were known as Viking Expeditions. The word *viking* is believed to be derived from vik, an inlet of the sea, in which the piratical crafts hid themselves behind the bordering

cliffs until a favorable opportunity offered itself, when the whole crew would rush forth with wild war cries to plunder and to slay the terrified inhabitants, and then as suddenly disappear with their booty.

Twenty pairs of oars are now raised, moving with perfect time and pushing the chief's ship out upon the smooth, glassy waters of the bay so that the spray dashes about the high bow of the ship. At the lofty stern of the vessel stands the helmsman. The rudder is a broad oar fastened astern on the right side of the ship, which is, hence, called the star-board to this day (steer board). Now comes a slant of wind from the land. A square-sail is

hoisted, the oars are laid down, and with good speed the viking ship scuds over the sea on its adventurous course. Proudly at the prow rises the gilded dragon's head with blood-red jaws, and the bulwarks shine with a row of painted shields. The other ships follow in close array.

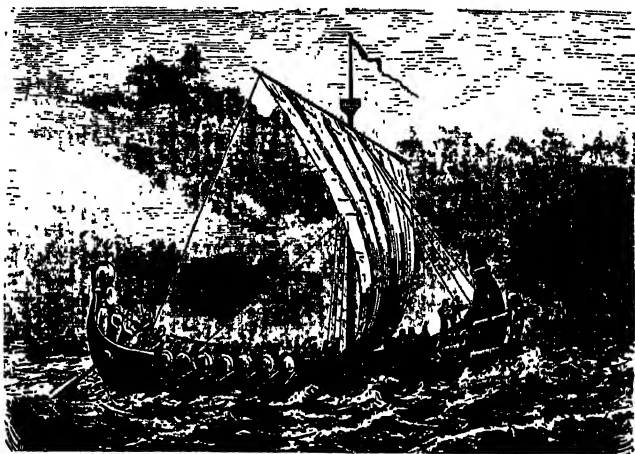
From about the beginning of the ninth to the eleventh century viking expeditions poured forth from the



Viking Chieftain from the 5th century.

North in an almost continuous stream to the East, to the South, and to the West.

The Swedish Viking Expeditions. The Swedish expeditions were directed mostly against the southern and eastern shores of the Baltic and the countries beyond. This was altogether natural as their own country bordered on this sea. These expeditions were



A Viking Ship.

known as "Eastway" (österväg). The most common route for these expeditions was by way of the Gulf of Finland, up the River Neva, and across Lake Ladoga, thence by another river course south to Lake Ilmen. There the Northmen founded among the conquered Slavs a kingdom whose capital they called Holmgård, later known as Novgorod.

But throngs of Northmen pursued voyages on rivers farther toward the south. By carrying their light ves-

sels over land on rollers they reached the Volga and the Dnieper. On the latter they sailed down to the Black Sea. On the way they founded new states on the Slavic plains. Among the Slavs these Swedes were known as Rus or Ros, because most of them had come from Roslagen, a name given to the Swedish shores of the Baltic. These shores were so named because they were divided into sections, each one of which was to furnish in time of war a certain number of ships with rowers (*roddskarlar*). The land which these *Rus* settled and governed became known as Rusland, hence, Russia. Thus these Swedish vikings laid the foundation of the Russian State.

For more than a century there was a lively intercourse between these Northmen and their countrymen in Sweden and Finland. From the old homeland there flowed a constant stream of its rapidly increasing population to join with their kinsmen in Russia in their expeditions to the Greek Empire at the outlet of the Black Sea. This sea swarmed with viking ships, whose goal was Constantinople, the luxurious capital of the Empire. Its treasures excited their admiration and tempted their greed, just as Rome in former days had tempted their Teutonic kinsmen. On account of its greatness they called it Miklagård (Great Stronghold).

But the Swedes in Russia were too few to continue for any great length of time as a dominant race. They were submerged in the immense Slavic masses. Long, however, adventurous young men continued to go forth to Miklagård to enter the Emperor's bodyguard under

the name of Varangians, i. e. confederates (from *var*, a pledge). They were greatly sought after on account of their great strength and trustworthiness.



Marble Lion with Runic Inscriptions. Now in Venice.

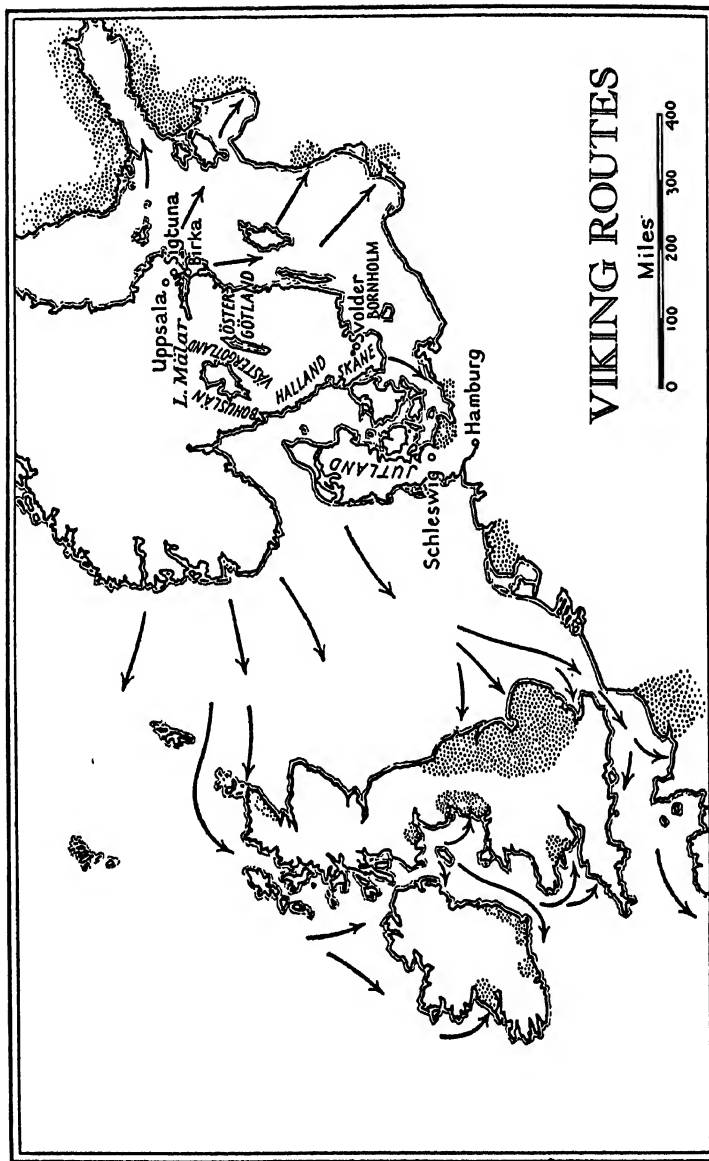
In Venice is a marble lion brought there from Greece. On it is found a runic inscription, now almost obliterated, which in all probability was made by a Varangian in memory of a comrade who had fallen in his master's

service. They who cut the runes were from "Rods-land" i. e. Roslagen.

From the Black Sea these Northmen at times took another route. They sailed up the Don, dragged their ships to the bend in the Volga, and sailed down to the Caspian Sea. Its southern shores were then held by the Arabs, or Saracens, on whom the sturdy men of the North made a powerful impression. "Never have I seen taller people," writes an Arabian author of that day. "They are tall as palm trees and have red cheeks and light hair." The Northmen entered into an active trade with the Saracens and brought home to the North Oriental products of fruits, fine fabrics, splendid weapons, and precious metals. In Swedish soil, especially in the Island of Gothland, have been found thousands of Saracen coins and Oriental jewelry, showing how considerable the traffic was across Russia between Sweden and the Saracen lands. The masses of precious metals, which even today, after a thousand years, are dug up in Sweden, are but a slight indication of the wealth the viking expeditions must have brought to the North.

Many runic inscriptions found in Sweden tell of men who have been "Eastway." One runic inscription, for instance, is made in memory of a man "who in Greece was the commander of the army." Not a few runic inscriptions also tell of vikings who sailed "Westway." Otherwise it was mostly Norwegians and Danes who sailed westward to the lands bordering on their waters, the North Sea and the Atlantic.

The Norwegian Expeditions. The Norwegians steered preferably to the groups of islands north of Scotland, as they lay nearest to them. These islands became a



station from which they extended their plundering expeditions to Scotland, England, and Ireland, where they also founded powerful states. Their discovery of Iceland, Greenland, and America has already been related.

The Danish Expeditions. The Danish vikings plundered the coasts of England, Germany, and France. Separate bands even entered the Mediterranean and plundered its coasts.

England was finally conquered by the Danish king Sweyn Forkbeard (Sven Tveskäg). His son Knut, who on account of his wisdom and power has been given the title Great, gave the exhausted land peace and order. His dominion is said to have been the largest ever ruled by any northern king. It embraced not only England and Denmark but also Norway. A few years after his death, however, the Danish dominion in England was forever ended, 1042.

In France the Danish vikings dared to attack even the capital, the strongly fortified Paris. But the Frankish king hit upon an effective plan to secure his land from further viking attacks. He gave the lands on both sides of the lower Seine as a duchy to the powerful viking chieftain Gånge-Rolf (Rollo). He is said to have been so heavy that no horse could carry him, so he had to walk. Hence the appellation Gånge, meaning walking. He and his successors defended the country against other vikings so powerfully that France thenceforth enjoyed quiet. His duchy was named Normandy and its people Normans after the Northmen. The Normans were long known for their strength and love of adven-

ture and were dreaded in war. Under William the Conqueror, a descendant of Gånge-Rolf, they conquered England and established there a strong centralized kingdom, 1066.

Results of the Viking Expeditions. The Northmen thus proved that they could not only ravage and plunder, but also establish states where law and order prevailed. A Northman might at this time travel along the coast of Europe, across the plains of Russia along her great rivers, and on the borders of the Black Sea, and nearly everywhere hear his own language spoken. The Northmen were masters of the sea. Many useful arts were introduced into the North by the vikings from the new and wonderful world they had visited and seen. The chieftain who had gone forth to foreign lands, had fought under the walls of Paris or at Constantinople, or had engaged in trade with Saracen merchants, was a different person from him who had all his life sat at home under the sooty ridge of his dwelling. The age was a period of greatness for the Northmen, but it was also a period of terror and suffering for other peoples.

B. INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY

St. Ansgar. The people of the far North, hardly known before, had now become a terrible scourge to the people of central, southern, and western Europe. The unhappy people on bended knees in their churches prayed: "From the fury of the Northmen, good Lord, deliver us." The ancestors of these very people had in earlier days overthrown and partitioned the Roman

Empire in the West, but had also received from the Romans the Christian religion. They now cherished the hope that the northern vikings would become less fierce and more merciful if they might hear the Saviour's gentle, loving words. There were men, too, who would willingly offer their lives for the conversion of the heathen. Such a man was St. Ansgar.

His Childhood and Youth. He was born in northern France, was early left an orphan, and was taken to a convent school to be brought up and educated. A medieval legend relates the following about his childhood:

At first he was so intent upon play and wild pranks that he made but little progress in his studies. One night in a dream he saw a company of beautiful women, dressed in white, walking about in a green meadow. One of them, fairer than all the rest, wore a crown on her head. He took her to be the Virgin Mary. Among the others he recognized his mother. In his joy he would rush up to her, but he found himself fast in the mire, and the more he struggled to get out, the deeper he sank into it. He began to cry. The Virgin Mary then asked him, "Would you like to go to your mother?" "Yes," sobbed the child. "Then," she said, "you must give up all vanity and childish pranks, for those who love such things can not be with us." From that time Ansgar became a serious child. He gave up his pranks and even his plays, he studied diligently and prayed much. His playmates were astonished at the change in him.

In the year 814 the great Emperor Charlemagne died. The news of his death made a deep impression on Ansgar. He had once seen the mighty Emperor,

whose scepter extended over Germany, France, Switzerland, Austria, and the greater part of Italy. To him the Emperor had appeared to possess all power and all wisdom. And now he was gone forever. He was impressed more strongly than ever with the vanity of all earthly power and glory. He thought of his own death and was anxious about his soul's salvation.

Often he had wonderful dreams. Once he dreamed that he was lying on his deathbed, and that he was carried to a place of darkness and horror, where he suffered agonies, but could not withdraw himself. It was purgatory, which Christians at that time thought that everybody must pass through to be cleansed from sin. After tortures which seemed to last for thousands of years, he was carried to heaven. Heavenly music greeted his ears. All were singing songs of praise, with faces turned toward the east, whence light, in beautiful colors, streamed with brightness such as earth had never seen, and yet so mild as not to dazzle the eye. Ansgar felt that in that light the Lord dwelt, and he heard his voice, so mild and yet so strong that it filled all the world. "Go," said the voice, "and come back to me when you have won the martyr's crown." From that time forth Ansgar had a burning desire to die a martyr's death for the gospel of Christ like other missionaries who had suffered death at the hands of the heathen.

At the early age of thirteen he became a monk. He put on the gown, shaved his crown, and promised to devote his life to the service of God, and to renounce the pleasures of this world. One day a great honor came to him. He was summoned to the imperial court.

The Emperor at that time was the son of Charlemagne, named Louis the Mild. He wished to work for the spread of the gospel and to free his coasts from devastation. He asked Ansgar if he would be willing to go to the Northland and preach the gospel to the wild Danes. Such a course was then regarded as leading to certain death. But Ansgar was filled with unspeakable joy.

Ansgar As a Missionary. For several years he preached the gospel of peace to these men of war. There were many who put on the white garment, and were baptized in the Name of the only true God.

In accordance with the Emperor's wish, Ansgar set out for Sweden, about 830 A.D., to preach the gospel there too. But off the coast of Sweden his vessel was attacked by vikings. With great difficulty he succeeded in escaping with his life. But all the gifts sent by the Emperor to the Swedish king to secure his favor, and all the precious books which he had taken along for the public services, were lost.

This was Ansgar's first contact with the people he wished to save from paganism. But Ansgar pushed forward, and after many hardships reached the large city of Birka on Björkö (Birch Island) in Lake Mälär, then Sweden's chief city. The place, however, was destroyed nine centuries ago. In Birka was life and activity. In its fine harbor were merchant vessels not only from different parts of Sweden, but also from Norway, Denmark, Germany and Russia—all engaged in a busy traffic.

But the city might also expect other than friendly visits. This was indicated by the wall surrounding the

city and a wall of circumvallation on an adjoining height. These fortifications were built for protection against vikings from the other side of the Baltic.*

Ansgar was given a friendly reception from King Björn, who after consultation with his council gave him permission to preach. Unspeakable was the joy of the Christian captives. Never had they even hoped to engage again in Christian worship. And of the heathen many were baptized, among them one of the king's most trusted councilors.

After a year and a half Ansgar returned to Germany and brought with him to the Emperor a letter from King Björn, written with runic characters. Ansgar was now appointed by the pope archbishop of the three Scandinavian lands, and chief leader in the work of their conversion. His official seat was located in northern Germany.

Ansgar's Second Visit to Sweden. But the heathen population of Birka became enraged against the missionary who succeeded Ansgar and drove him out of the country. Ansgar felt greatly concerned about the little Christian congregation, thus left without a head, and finally decided to go there himself. This was about the year 850.

He found his friends up there anxious and hopeless. They advised him to save himself by immediate flight. But he answered, "I am ready to endure all pain and

* About the year 1000 the city was deserted either because it was destroyed by vikings or the inhabitants were compelled to move away. The place is now a fertile field. Out of the soil, which is black from the many fireplaces, there have been dug up remains, from Sweden and neighboring lands, such as utensils, ornaments, and coins. A part of the wall of circumvallation remains. Outside of the city limits there was a large graveyard, where 2,000 graves may yet be seen.

even to suffer death for my Lord." The king then ruling was friendly, but he did not dare to let Ansgar preach before he had consulted the wishes of the people.

When the people had assembled there was much tumult and unrest among them. But an elderly and respected man arose

and said: "Hear me, king and people, many of us know that the Christians' God can give great help to those who put their trust in him, for this has often been witnessed in perils at sea and other dangers. Why then should we reject what we know to be useful? When our own gods are unfavorable it is well to have the favor of this God, who is ever ready

to help those who call upon him." The people all thought this wisely spoken, and decided that Christian preachers should be permitted to remain in the country. The king gave a site for a church, and Ansgar appointed a priest. This done he returned to his episcopal see. He never again saw Sweden, but to the end of his life he labored for the spread of Christianity in the North.

Ansgar's Life. His manner of life was extremely simple. A few pieces of bread were his usual food, and



St. Ansgar.

From a wood carving of the Middle Ages.
In the Cathedral of Hamburg.

his drink was water. He was untiring in giving alms and in helping the unfortunate. His greatest joy was to purchase freedom for Christian slaves. Mild and kindly as he ever was, his eyes could flash with holy wrath so that even the mighty of earth would tremble beneath his look, when he reproved them for their misdeeds. But his own sins and shortcomings were ever a torment to him; he often said he could weep over them all his life. On his deathbed he lamented that he was not permitted to die a martyr's death. But his friends comforted him with the thought that all his life had been a martyrdom.

He fell peacefully asleep with an appeal to those in power to provide for the Christian work in the North. But when the news of his death reached Birka the little church bell tolled out the people's deep sorrow—and rang the hope of a triumph over heathenism.

C. LEGENDARY TALES

Eric Segersäll and Styrbjörn Starke. The old viking spirit long remained unbroken. Especially dreaded was an association of vikings having their stronghold in Jomsborg, a strongly fortified place on the Island of Wollin at the mouth of the River Oder. Within the fortifications was a fine harbor with a capacity of 300 ships. Over the entrance, which was closed by heavy iron gates, there rose a strong tower.

Here the Jomsvikings lived as foster brothers under the strictest rules. No one was allowed within the stronghold who was not fit for battle; hence, no women were allowed there, nor men under 18 or over 60 years

of age, nor men who fled before an enemy of equal strength. Fear a Jomsviking must never show; no complaint must ever pass his lips; absolute obedience to the chief must be observed.

Once thirty of these vikings were taken captive. The enemy placed them in stocks. Then one of the enemy came forward with an ax and chopped off the head of one after the other. But the vikings jested and sang songs while waiting for the death stroke. After several had thus been slain the one next in turn said, "We have often discussed whether a person has any consciousness after the head is removed. If I have any consciousness after my head is off I will thrust this knife in the ground." But when his head fell, the knife fell out of his nerveless hand.

As long as these vikings lived up to their strict regulations, they were regarded as the foremost champions in the North. They were named with terror by all peaceful inhabitants.

Near the close of the tenth century they received as their chief the Swedish prince Styrbjörn Starke (Styrbjörn the Strong). He was of a genuine viking nature, as fierce as he was strong. At his father's death he was only a small boy. His uncle Eric, who had before ruled half the kingdom, now assumed the government of the whole kingdom. When Styrbjörn attained the age of twelve he demanded the half of the kingdom as his inheritance. But Eric replied: "You are yet too young to rule a kingdom, but when you are sixteen you shall have your inheritance."

With this reply the boy was greatly dissatisfied. Two years in succession, at the time that men gathered for

viking expeditions, he sat, fierce to behold, on his father's grave mound, that all passers-by might see that he demanded his inheritance. At last he appeared before all the men assembled at the ting in Uppsala* and asked them to help him secure his inheritance. They answered in the same way as his uncle had done. Then he became defiant and insolent and so irritated the men that they drove him from the assembly.

When King Eric saw that his nephew would give him no peace, he decided to send him out on a viking expedition to tame him down. So he furnished him with a well equipped viking fleet. With it he sailed "Eastway" and won such fame through his victories that he was finally made chief of the Jomsvikings. Now he would carry out the great plans he had long brooded over; he would make himself king of all Sweden. So he sailed with his fleet into Lake Mälär and landed at Old Uppsala, which then lay on the coast, as the lake then extended farther inland than it does now. He burned all his ships so that his men would have no hope of saving themselves by flight. He declared that he would never again leave Sweden; he would now conquer or die.

King Eric had in the meantime called out a large army and assembled it on the Fyris plain near Uppsala. And there a great battle was fought. It is said that the king had coupled together a large number of horses and bulls with yokes to which were fastened long swords and spears. These animals crazed with the din of battle were driven against the enemy and wrought great slaughter.

* Thing, or ting, is a Scandinavian name for a popular court and legislature.

The battle lasted three days. On the night before the third day Styrbjörn sacrificed to Thor. The same night there appeared in Styrbjörn's tent a man with a red beard and fierce aspect who foretold his fall. Eric sacrificed to Oden, promising himself to the god after ten years if he might win the battle. There appeared before him a tall one-eyed man with a blue cloak and a large hat on his head. He gave the king a cane which he was to throw at the enemy with the exclamation, "Ye all belong to Oden now."

When the battle was joined, and Eric threw the cane, a general dread possessed Styrbjörn's men. They fancied that everywhere above their heads arrows flew and blinded them. This rain of arrows they felt was Oden's work. Finally the Jomsvikings lay in heaps on the battle field. Styrbjörn then set up his standard and shouted to his men: "Better die with honor than flee with shame." Then he rushed with fury into the midst of the enemy and fell together with the best of his champions. Henceforth Eric was known as Eric Segersäll (Victorious).

The Battle of the Three Kings at Svolder. In Norway the spread of Christianity was effected by Olaf Tryggvesson, a descendant of Harold Fairhair. During one of his many viking expeditions he had been converted in England and then became as zealous a Christian as he had before been a viking. When he reached home he proceeded with an armed following, accompanied by Christian teachers, from village to village, and persuaded or compelled the people to accept the new faith. To those who resisted he meted out severe punishment; some were exiled, others slain

or maimed. The violence of the viking spirit was with him still. In such manner Olaf finally succeeded in converting the coast provinces of Norway.

But his power awakened alarm and envy in the neighboring kings, Sweyn Forkbeard of Denmark and Olof Lapking (Skötkonung) of Sweden. According to tradition the trouble was also fomented by a revengeful woman. Olof Lapking's mother Sigrid, a beautiful widow, had many suitors, but rejected them all. For her pride and great power she was called "Storråda" (Imperious). Two petty kings, whose suits she had rejected again and again, she caused to be burned to death, in order to be let alone. But an offer of marriage from Olaf Tryggvesson she accepted, as it was an offer worthy of her. Olaf then wanted her to accept baptism, but she refused. "I will not," she said, "give up my religion and that of my kindred before me, but I will not object to your worshiping the god you believe in." Then the king flared up and struck her face with his glove, saying, "Why should I marry you, a pagan dog?" "This may be your death," was her reply. Soon after she married Sweyn Forkbeard.

Sigrid stirred up her husband, king of Denmark, and her son, king of Sweden, and they formed an ambush against Olaf Tryggvesson, when he was returning from an expedition against Pomerania. Off the Island of Svolder, presumably near Rügen, they lay in wait for him with a superior Swedish and Danish fleet. Even Norwegian ships were along, for they had a Norwegian jarl (earl) as an ally. The confederates kept their fleet hid behind the island until Olaf himself should appear. There stood the two kings and many

of their men on the island and saw one after another of Olaf's ships sail by. They wished only to get sight of his own ship, "Ormen Långe" (Long Serpent), the mightiest ship built in Norway. Many great hulks passed by, and each time King Sweyn thought it must be the king's ship. But the Norwegian jarl, who well knew the king's ship, said, "This is not Ormen Långe." At last a powerful, gold-bedecked dragon appeared. Then Sweyn arose and exclaimed: "High shall the dragon carry me tonight, I will steer him." But that dragon was called "Ormen Korte."

Finally a dragon ship hove in sight, so immense that one had to wait a long while after seeing the bow before one could see the stern. From its richly ornamented prow there spread a shimmer of gold over the billows. No one asked, all knew that there sailed Olaf Tryggvesson. It was propelled by thirty-four pairs of oars, and its crew numbered nearly one thousand men, and they were select men, who were said to surpass all others in courage and strength, even as Ormen Långe surpassed other ships.

The whole hostile fleet then rushed out against Olaf's fleet, which now numbered only eleven ships. But Olaf would listen to no suggestion of flight. He brought the ships up alongside and fastened them together with his own ship in the center. A fierce battle ensued. Men fell thick and fast. Before long all the ships were cleared of their crews, except the king's ship. All of Olaf's men who were still able to wield arms gathered on his ship. Over them rained showers of missiles so thick and fast that shields were inadequate for protection, as the hostile ships attacked

from all sides. Gradually Olaf's forces were thinned out, and the enemy boarded his ship. The king stood in the stern with his golden helmet on and fought by turns with arrows and spears, always two at a time. Finally his men were nearly all cut down. Then he threw himself into the sea and was never seen again. The last of his heroes followed his example. But a shout of triumph arose from all the hostile hosts. This occurred about the year 1000. Norway was then divided between the victorious kings.

The Legend of Lawman Torgny. Norway's independence was restored by Olaf Haroldsson, another descendant of Harold Fairhair. He was of a stocky build and inclined to fatness, hence, he was called Olaf Digre (Olaf the Stout). On viking expeditions he, too, had become an ardent Christian.

The two kings, Olof Lapking and Sweyn Forkbeard, were naturally angry with Olaf for having taken from them their parts of Norway. The proud Olof Lapking could hardly bear to hear Olaf Haroldsson called king. "The stout man" he should be called. The two kings ravaged each other's lands; their people attacked and killed each other wherever they met; trade between the two countries was interrupted, causing much damage and annoyance, especially to the peasants* of West Gothland. They were accustomed to buy their salt and herring from the neighboring province, Viken, around the Christiania Fjord (now Bohuslän). Without these necessities they could not get along; and the people of Viken on their part did not like to lose the income from

* The word peasant is used throughout this work in the sense of freeholder. Serfdom never existed in Sweden.

this traffic. Finally the king's governor of West Gothland, Earl Ragnvald, undertook on his own account to conclude a truce between his province and the Norwegian king.

After this, envoys of Olaf Haroldsson departed to offer Olof Lapking peace on condition that the boundary between the two kingdoms should be as of old. Earl Ragnvald accompanied them. But as he feared the king's wrath, he would first assure himself of the aid of the most powerful great-peasant in Uppland, as in this province a ting (assembly) was to be held and measures adopted with regard to the overtures of peace.

The man whose aid Ragnvald sought was the old and wise Lawman Torgny. There was in each province an official called "lagman," who presided over the peasants when they assembled to hold a ting, or court, to make laws, to settle suits, and decide other matters of importance. It was his duty at the assembly each year to publish, by word of mouth, the laws of the province, for as yet they were not written. He had them committed to memory and was a sort of living law-book.

Lawman Torgny received Earl Ragnvald and the Norwegian envoys sitting in his "high-seat." Such an imposing man the envoys had never seen. His beard was so long that it reached down to his lap and covered his bosom. When he had learned the mission of the visitors he said to Earl Ragnvald: "Wonderful men are ye, who seek after titles, but know not how to help yourselves when ye get into a difficulty. It seems to me more honorable to be reckoned among the peasants

and enjoy the freedom to speak one's mind even in the presence of the king." He promised, however, to give them his assistance in the assembly.

· Large numbers gathered at the ting. First spoke the leader of the Norwegian envoys, but in the midst of his speech King Olof sprang from his chair, ordering the man to stop talking. Then Earl Ragnvald arose to advocate the cause of peace. But the king burst out in angry words against him because he had concluded peace with "the stout man," and accused him of treason. But now arose the imposing form of Lawman Torgny. All the peasants, who had been sitting, arose on all sides and crowded up, eager to hear what their spokesman was about to say. Much noise and clamor of arms arose, but soon silence followed. Only Torgny's powerful voice resounded over the plain:

"Different now is the temper of the Svea kings from that of former days. Then they were willing to listen to their subjects and be advised by them. But the present king will hear nothing but what pleases him. He obstinately seeks to reign over Norway, which no former Svea king ever aspired to do. But now we peasants demand that you, King Olof, conclude peace with Norway's king. If you do not respect our wishes, and do as we say, we will proceed against you and slay you. So have our forefathers done with overbearing kings. Tell us now which you will choose." With clamor and din of arms the assembly expressed their approval.

The king's tone changed. He promised to do as the peasants wished. "So have all the Svea kings done,"

he said, "they have allowed the peasants to advise with them." Then quiet reigned in the assembly.

Olaf Haroldsson fell in battle with usurpers. After his death he was regarded as Norway's patron saint, and was known as St. Olaf. His bones are preserved in a silver casket at the cathedral of Trondhjem. They are long believed to possess a miraculous healing power.

D. INTERNAL STRUGGLES AT THE CLOSE OF THE PERIOD

Contests between Christians and Pagans. It was a long time after Ansgar's death before Sweden was again visited by Christian teachers, and it was only by slow degrees that Christianity triumphed. Olof Lap-king was the first Christian king of Sweden. He is said to have received baptism at Husaby Spring, in West Gothland, in the year 1008. But his people were still largely pagan. It was not an easy task to change the customs and modes of thought of a whole people. It took a long time for the missionaries to convince the adventurous Northmen that their viking expeditions were theft and murder. It was also hard for the Northmen to refrain from taking vengeance on the slayer of their kindred. Again Christian teaching did not permit a man to take his own life to escape dying of old age or in bed. Nor were Christians permitted to participate in sacrificial feasts, nor eat horse flesh. The horse was the chief sacrificial animal. The prejudice against eating horse flesh still exists.

A German narrative from the latter half of the eleventh century says concerning Svealand and its people:

"They have a very celebrated temple called Uppsala (now Old Uppsala). In this temple, which is richly ornamented with gold, the people worship the images of three gods: Thor, the mightiest, has his seat in the center of the hall; to the right and left are seated Oden and Frey. Every ninth year a general feast for all the provinces is held in Uppsala. To this feast all must contribute. Kings and people, all send in their gifts to Uppsala. Of the males of all creatures nine victims are offered. With the blood of these victims the gods are conciliated. The bodies are suspended in a sacred grove near the temple."

But in the provinces of West and East Gothland the people were then Christians. The reason for this difference lay in the fact that these provinces were nearer to the Christian lands in the South, with which they had closer relations.

When the Uppsala dynasty came to an end with the death of the sons of Olof Lapking (ca. 1060) and a new king was to be chosen, the Goths desired a Christian king, but the Sveas wanted one that offered to Thor and Oden. The result was a long conflict between the two sections.

Contests Regarding the Election to the Throne. In the twelfth century the whole country became Christian, but the contests regarding the elections to the throne continued, for West Gothland, East Gothland, and Svealand, each wanted the honor of furnishing the king to the people. Such conflicts were at the time not so strange, for people of the different provinces still regarded each other as foreigners. We are reminded that each province had its own laws. The West Gothic

law, put to writing during the first half of the thirteenth century, after having long lived on the lips of "lawmen," is the oldest Swedish book now extant. In it a man from another province is called a foreigner, and if he were killed in West Gothland the fine would be less than for a West Goth.

The conflict ended with an agreement, sanctioned by law, that the Sveas should have the right to choose the king. The election was held on Mora Plain near the Fyris River, where the king was acclaimed by being lifted up on the Mora stone, or rock. But afterwards the other provinces of the kingdom were to approve the choice, hence, the king elect had to make a tour of the land, attend the assemblies in the provinces, and promise under oath to maintain their laws, after which he received the homage of the people.

CHAPTER IV

THE EARLY CATHOLIC PERIOD IN SWEDEN

A. THE CHURCH: ITS CULT AND CUSTOMS

Doctrine and Worship. The Christian faith prevailing at this time was that of the Roman Catholic Church. The name Catholic, meaning universal, implied that the Church should include all Christians; it is called Roman because its chief bishop the Pope resides in Rome. The Catholic Church had in the course of centuries added many new doctrines to those taught by Christ and His Apostles. Prayers were offered not

only to God, but also to the Virgin Mary, "The Mother of God," and to such pious persons as after their death had been declared saints by the Church. To repeat many prayers was regarded as meritorious, hence, it was customary to carry about one's person a rosary, or string of beads, counting one bead for each prayer repeated or said.

Before entering church one sprinkled one's self with a few drops of holy water from a vessel at the church door, and made the sign of the cross. When any one was near death he received extreme unction, that is, his hands and face were anointed with holy oil. Through the intercessory prayers of priests and monks for the dead (masses for the dead), it was believed that the souls of the dead more quickly passed through purgatory. Large sums were donated to the churches, shrines, and monasteries that they might in return perform such masses for the departed souls. Another meritorious act was fasting. The physical body was regarded as a prison for the soul, hence, it should be weakened and subdued.

Monasteries and Convents. Many persons withdrew from the world and its tumults and sought quiet within the walls of convents and monasteries to engage in prayer and pious meditation. Monks and nuns were required to take the three vows: implicit *obedience* to the abbot or abbess of the monastery or convent and to all the orders of the Church; *chastity*, i. e., to lead a pure life and to remain unmarried; and *poverty*, which implied the renunciation of all individual property.

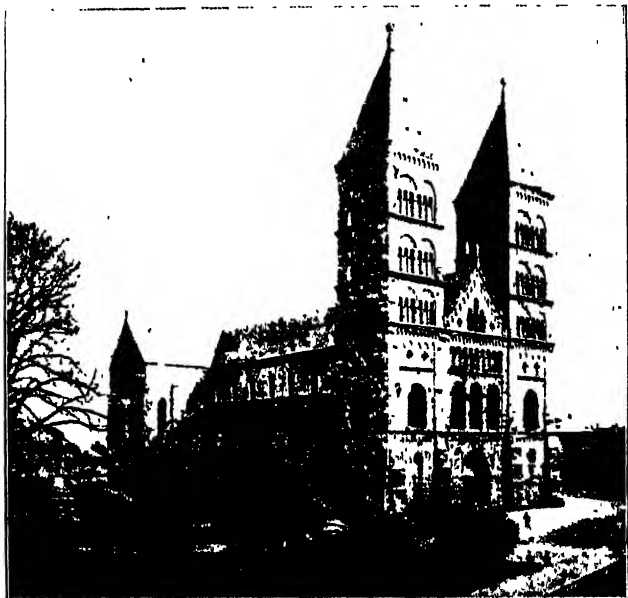
The first Swedish monasteries were founded about the middle of the twelfth century. The most noted were Alvastra in East Gothland and Varnhem in West Gothland. The inmates of these institutions accomplished much good. They served as teachers and established the first schools in the country. They encouraged the useful arts, agriculture, gardening, and fruit-raising. They had a knowledge of medicinal herbs, nursed the sick, sheltered the wayfarers, and dispensed alms to the poor. In the secluded cloister cells diligent monks were engaged in the copying of books, for printing presses were yet unknown.

Papal Dominion. By this time most of the European lands recognized the pope in Rome as their spiritual head. The Holy Father, as he was called, was regarded as the successor of St. Peter and vicegerent of Christ on earth. Should any one, even though he were a prince or king, venture to resist an order of the Church, the pope would issue a bull of excommunication against him, and woe to any one who fell under this ban. He was thrust out from Christian society, no priest was allowed to administer the Communion to him or to bury his dead body. No one must shelter him or give him food or drink. He was cursed in life and cursed in death. He was a wanderer on earth, and if he died under the ban his soul was held to be lost. It was a terrible power exercised by the Church over the people for punishment and subjection.

In the year 1152 Sweden placed herself under the pope. A papal legate then held a church council in Linköping, where it was decided that the Swedes, as other peoples, should pay an annual tribute to the pope,

known as Peter's pence. By this act Sweden had acknowledged the pope as its highest authority in church matters.

The Priesthood. In 1248 another papal legate held a church council in Skeninge. There it was ordered that



The Cathedral of Lund. Romanesque style.

the priests, like the monks, were to live unmarried. No concern for wife and children, no joy of family life, should engage the thoughts of the priests. To the service of the Church all their powers were to be devoted. By these and other regulations churchmen were separated from the rest of the people as a distinct order or estate. They were not under the jurisdiction of any

civil court. Later church property was exempted from state taxation. For the support of the church and the clergy the people paid a ten per cent tax on the yield of the land, of live stock, and of hunting and fishing. This tax is known as the tithe.*

B. THE CRUSADES

Crusades to the Holy Land. Near the close of the eleventh century the Christian people of Europe were seized with enthusiasm for the idea of rescuing the Holy Land from the control of the Mohammedan Turks, so that Christians might again worship at the Holy Sepulchre and the places where the Lord Jesus had suffered.

Hundreds of thousands of Christian warriors, high and low, burning with zeal to rescue the Holy Sepulchre, moved in successive bands toward the East. Each one carried a consecrated red cross on his shoulder, hence, these expeditions were known as crusades. Thousands upon thousands perished from heat, thirst, and all sorts of privations, from plagues, and from the arms of the Turks. But on they pressed, and after miracles of heroic disregard of death, they finally secured possession of Jerusalem.**

The Swedish Crusades. The Scandinavian peoples, too, wished to go forth on crusades. The Swedes turned

* The archbishop of Bremen had jurisdiction over the Church in the Scandinavian North until 1104, when the bishop of Lund was made archbishop of the North. Later each of the three kingdoms was made a separate ecclesiastical province. Sweden received her own archbishop at Uppsala in 1164.

** A Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem was established in 1099, which lasted 88 years, when Jerusalem again fell under the Turks. The Crusades continued for nearly two hundred years. The last of the crusaders withdrew in 1291, leaving the Turks in control of the Holy Land.

against the pagan Finns, who were in the habit of ravaging and plundering the Swedish coasts. There were the same reasons for them to convert the Finns as there had been for the people of southern and central Europe to Christianize the northern vikings. They sought to put an end to their ravages. A king named Eric led a crusade to the southwestern part of Finland. He exhorted the Finns to accept baptism, but with loud shouts they refused. He then attacked them, conquered them, and compelled the survivors to be baptized. The crusades were a sort of Christian viking expeditions. This occurred about the year 1160.

King Eric met a violent death. He was slain by a Danish prince who sought by violence to win the Swedish throne. Eric's tragic death led people to regard him as a martyr for his country. Many anecdotes were told of his piety and miracles at his grave. The people spoke of him as Eric the Saint. He was, however, never canonized by the Church. His bones were deposited in a silver casket and placed in the Cathedral of Uppsala. He was worshiped as the patron saint of Sweden.

Other Finnish tribes continued the ravaging of the Swedish coasts. Once they penetrated into Lake Mälär, plundered its fertile shores, and burned Sigtuna, which had become a prosperous commercial city after the destruction of Birka. The Swedes now had to "lock up Lake Mälär." This was done by building a fortress on an island at the entrance, that was Stockholm.* Thus

* Holm means island, and Stockholm may possibly be derived from the "stockaded island."

a commercial town arose, which became the capital of Sweden about the middle of the fourteenth century.

But the Swedes were not satisfied with mere defense. They also proceeded with new attacks on the Finns. King Eric's crusade was continued during the reign of his great-grandson, Eric the Lisper and the Lamé, by the powerful Birger Jarl (Earl Birger), who belonged to the wealthy and eminent family of the Folkungs. He was the king's highest official and the virtual ruler of the kingdom. His crusade was against the wild Tavastians in central Finland. All who accepted baptism were spared, those who refused were slain. Here then Birger Jarl erected the fortress of Tavastehus.

Denmark's Crusades and Period of Greatness. Denmark, too, was ravaged by pagan hordes from the southern shores of the Baltic, after the Danes themselves had ceased from their viking expeditions. These hordes were of the Slavic race, related to the Russians. Such were the Wends of Pomerania. On account of civil strife Denmark, like Sweden, lay defenseless. Many royal scions contended for the throne, and it seemed as if the kingdom would fall to pieces. But rescue came from Waldemar, called the Great. A victory over his rival made him king of all Denmark in 1157. With great energy he set to work to strengthen and build up his kingdom. In all his efforts he was ably assisted by his friend, the wise and powerful Bishop Absalon. First of all he must secure his land against the attacks of the Wendish vikings. The king, and more especially Absalon, visited the Wends with one successful crusade after another.

With rest and quiet secured, the country soon began to experience the blessings of peace. At this time the herring came in such shoals to Öresund that one could literally scoop up the fish with the hands into the boats. This region became the center of traffic in this food supply, so important at that time, especially during the long period of lent, when other flesh-food was forbidden. Every fall a great fair was held there, to which came merchants not only from Denmark, but from many other lands as well. This traffic made Denmark prosperous. The people could now afford a higher standard of living. Their purchasing power was increased. Peasants were encouraged to cultivate their lands better and to increase their crops and herds.

As agriculture became so profitable, the peasants devoted themselves with greater zeal to this occupation, and their love for military enterprises waned. Neither were they now as serviceable in war as formerly, since in southern and central Europe a change was taking place in methods of warfare. Mounted soldiers equipped themselves and their steeds with iron armor, and fought with long lances and heavy swords. Such equipment was so expensive that most peasants could not afford it. King Waldemar entered into an agreement with the chief peasants that they should provide such forces in lieu of paying taxes or in return for certain privileges. Thus was formed out of the chief peasants a new military order, a tax-free nobility.

King Waldemar's military campaigns along the Baltic were continued by his immediate successors till Denmark at length possessed a continuous territory from the North Sea, along the southern and eastern shores

of the Baltic, up to the Gulf of Finland. But suddenly the subjugated peoples arose, and nearly all of Denmark's proud Baltic dominion was lost forever.

About the middle of the thirteenth century there began in Denmark a period of civil strife and misrule extending over a hundred years, during which the royal power was weakened, the spiritual and temporal lords usurped the powers of the government, and a serious oppression of the common people followed.

CHAPTER V

THE LATER CATHOLIC PERIOD IN SWEDEN

A. THE REGENCY OF BIRGER JARL

Development of Commerce. On the death of Eric the Lisper and the Lamé, the direct line of St. Eric came to an end, and Waldemar, son of Birger Jarl, was chosen king. His mother was the great-granddaughter of St. Eric. His father, Birger Jarl, remained the actual ruler, however, for Waldemar was young and not very strong.

As regent Birger rendered great service to the kingdom. He labored especially to increase the national income by promoting the growth of commerce. He entered into an agreement with Lübeck and Hamburg, Germany's chief commercial cities along the Baltic and the North Sea, that when their merchants came to Sweden to traffic they should be exempt from all tolls and tariffs. He wanted his people to learn the methods

of trade from the most successful merchants of the day. Many Germans now settled in the Swedish cities for purposes of trade. But as a matter of fact the plan resulted in a greater benefit to the German than to the Swedish trader. The Swedes were not so aggressive, nor did they have as efficient an organization as their German competitors.

Toward the end of the thirteenth century a large number of German and Dutch cities formed a commercial federation known as the Hanseatic League. The federation maintained powerful fleets and armies. Its head was the prosperous city of Lübeck. The league prospered greatly and in the course of time largely monopolized the trade of the northern kingdoms.

The Germans likewise became instructors in the mining industry in Sweden. The first mention of Swedish mines occurs in the reign of Magnus Ladulås (Barnlock), the son of Birger Jarl.* This was the Falun copper mine. The first iron mining district was known as Noraberg, or Norberg.

Birger's Legislation. Birger Jarl is best known as a legislator. He issued the celebrated peace or security laws of home, of church, of assembly, and of women. The first three prohibited attacks on any one in his home, in church, in the ting (assembly), or on the way to or from the two latter places. By these laws the operation of the blood-feud was greatly restricted. The law regarding women's security forbade any one to attack or carry off a woman as a bride or wife. Before this it happened that a disappointed suitor with

* The mines were, however, worked prior to this time.

his following would lie in ambush to attack a wedding procession and carry off the bride. Any one violating these laws became an outlaw, and any one was at liberty to put him to death.

In the interest of women, Birger enacted a new inheritance law. Hitherto a daughter inherited from her parents only when there were no male heirs. Otherwise the law was: "It goes to the *hat* and away from the *hood*," which meant that the male heirs took all. It was, however, regarded as a duty for a brother to support unmarried sisters. But Birger now enacted a law that a daughter's share of inheritance should be half the amount of a son's share. This law remained in force until 1845, when sisters were given equal inheritance with their brothers.

The wisdom of Birger's legislation was further shown by his abolition of the ordeal by fire. By this ancient ordeal an accused person was required to carry in his hands red hot irons or walk on white-heated plowshares to prove his innocence. If he succeeded in passing the ordeal unhurt it was held that God had intervened to prove his innocence.

Birger was the first ruler of Sweden who deserves the name of statesman. When he died "old and young mourned," and the women, whom he had helped and befriended, prayed for his soul.

B. THE REIGN OF MAGNUS LADULÅS

The Contest for the Throne. On the death of his father, King Waldemar assumed the reigns of government. His three brothers had received dukedoms from the father, presumably to keep them from being jeal-

ous of their elder brother. But the plan had just the opposite effect. After a short reign the feeble Walde-mar was defeated and deposed by his younger brother Magnus.

The Legislation of Magnus. Magnus reigned in the spirit of his father and upheld the laws. A pernicious practice had arisen among the nobles, or lords. On their travels through the country with their mounted retainers, they would stop at peasant homes and compel the peasants to provide them with food and fodder without pay. In this way the rich lords could, as the king declared, "in a short time consume what the poor peasants had labored long and hard to obtain." Such enforced hospitality he forbade under severe penalties. Hence, the peasantry gave him the honorable name of Ladulås (Barnlock), because he had, as it were, placed a lock on the peasant's barn.

Establishment of a Cavalry. For the country's defense Magnus adopted the same method as Waldemar the Great of Denmark. About the year 1280, he issued an order that all men who would render knight-service, that is equip man and horse with full armor for the defense of the kingdom, should be exempt from paying taxes to the king. Thus arose a noble military class. At the same time, too, the clergy had become fully organized and were freed from paying taxes to the king.

The Four Estates. In Sweden as in other lands the people were now divided into political and social classes known as Estates. The First Estate was that of the Clergy; the Second that of the Nobles; the Third comprised the Burghers in the cities, devoted to trade and manufactures; the Fourth included all the free Peas-

antry. In pagan days the freeman was both soldier, priest, and tiller of the soil. Now each of these occupations formed a separate estate.

The King's Council. When important matters were to be decided the king summoned the most important members of the first two estates for consultation, as he had to assure himself beforehand that he would not have the mightiest men in the kingdom against him when important matters were concerned. These great lords formed the King's Council. They were lordly men, and it required powerful kings, like Magnus Ladulås, to keep them in check. When specially important matters were to be decided, the king summoned all the lords, not simply the foremost, to meetings which were known as Diets of Lords (Herredagar).

C. KNIGHTHOOD, OR CHIVALRY

Training of a Knight. The foremost nobles were the knights, mounted men-at-arms. The training for knighthood began at the early age of seven. The lad was sent to be educated at the castle of some renowned lord. The future knight was first taught obedience and service. There were daily exercises in knightly sports, as shooting with the bow, handling the lance, the sword, and the shield while managing his steed. Occasionally a boy might be taught to play the lute and to sing, but in general the knights were dreadfully ignorant. Many could not even write their names.

Ceremony of Knighting. At the age of twenty-one the youth who had successfully passed his period of probation was solemnly dubbed a knight. He then made the knightly vow: "I will with life and effects

defend the Christian faith, resist the wrong, protect orphans, widows, and ladies, and be loyal to my king and country. So help me God." To this day we ascribe a knightly character to a man who walks uprightly, scorns deceit, fights for truth and justice, and succors the helpless. When the candidate had thus given his vows, some renowned knight administered to him the accolade by striking him on the shoulder with the flat of his sword. Other knights girded on his sword, fastened the spurs to his heels, and presented him with the heavy armor.

The Castles. The knights devoted their lives to warfare, but much of it was civil strife. For security in those turbulent times they built for their dwellings strongly fortified castles, surrounded with moats and walls bristling with towers.

The Tournaments. The favorite amusement of knighthood was the tournament, an expensive contest between mounted knights. In shining armor, with waving crests, and on fiery steeds the contestants en-



A Knight Templar.

tered the lists. Their heads were all covered with helmets with barred visors. Along one side of the lists sat knights and noble ladies as spectators. The knights then separated into two parties, the trumpets sounded, the drums beat, and with couched wooden lances the opposing parties rushed against each other. Many a lance was splintered, many a knight unhorsed, and some were mortally wounded. But the winners rode forward to receive the rewards of victory from the hands of the ladies.

D. TORGILS KNUTSSON AND THE STRIFE BETWEEN THE SONS OF MAGNUS

Torgils Knutsson's Administration. When Magnus Ladulås died, his sons were still too young to govern. He therefore appointed his high official Torgils Knutsson to conduct the government as guardian of the young princes. Of his time the *Rhymed Chronicle*, an old narrative in verse from the fourteenth century, says:

"Then Sweden prospered so,
Scarce better times she'll know."

He continued Earl Birger's crusades and converted the Carelians in southeastern Finland to Christianity.

Like his father, Magnus had given dukedoms to his younger sons. In this group, too, the elder brother was a weakling. His name was Birger. The second was Duke Eric. He became an accomplished knight—handsome in person, noble in bearing, and brave in danger. But in his efforts to win power and glory he seemed wholly devoid of conscience. With his younger brother

Waldemar he entered into an alliance against the elder brother, King Birger. But as long as the young king had the powerful support of Torgils Knutsson, they could accomplish nothing.

Then the two brothers persuaded the weak king that Torgils was the cause of their disagreements and induced him to remove his powerful supporter. One day the three brothers appeared at Torgils' home in West Gothland. There King Birger arrested the man who had been as a father to him so many years. "This will be your shame, my Lord King, as long as you live," exclaimed the aged man. He was placed on a horse and carried all the way to Stockholm. There he was beheaded in the year 1306. This was his reward for many years of faithful service.

The Håtuna Game. But "Punishment follows the footsteps of Crime." One day, later in the year, the two dukes came unexpectedly to visit the king at his estate Håtuna, near Sigtuna. They were well received, but rewarded the hospitality by capturing the king and his family during the night. This event came to be called the Håtuna Game (Håtunaleken).

Birger was released after two years, but had to content himself with a third of the kingdom and to make a solemn promise that all past differences should be forgotten. Thus Sweden was divided among three young princes, each of whom kept a prodigal court, to the bitter cost of the peasants. Among the brothers, Eric appeared the most magnificent. He married a Norwegian princess, the sole heiress to her country's throne, and began to revolve grand plans in his mind.

The Nyköping Banquet. At yuletide 1317, Birger in-

vited his brothers to visit him at the castle of Nyköping, where he was then holding court. The two princes accepted the invitation and were received with every mark of friendship. They were assigned a sleeping apartment in the castle, but on the plea of lack of room, their retainers were to find quarters in the city. When the last of them had left the castle, the bridges were raised and the gates locked. The two princes were now at the mercy of their brother. The door of their room was burst open, and the king with an armed force entered. The two princes were put in chains. The king stared wildly at them and hissed, "Do you remember Håtunaleken? This game will not be better for you." He ordered them to be placed in the lowest dungeon of the castle and to be chained to the wall. This outrage was called the Nyköping Banquet (Nyköpings gästabud).

Birger's Flight and Death. When Birger had thus carried out the plot he had brooded over for eleven years, he clapped his hands in glee and shouted, "Now I have Sweden in my hand." But, "Who ill contrives at ill arrives." The adherents of Eric and Waldemar gathered, and advanced against Nyköping. Birger fled and finally took refuge in Denmark. But when the rescuers broke open the doors to the dungeon, they found the prisoners dead, most likely from starvation. The rescuers, in their rage, put to death Birger's young son, Magnus, though he was wholly innocent of the father's crime. "God knows," he exclaimed when informed that he must die, "that it was against my will that Duke Eric and Duke Waldemar should so lose their lives. Now I am to die, but why? God grant

peace and happiness to my soul." He knelt down and with a calm and noble bearing met his death. The sad news crushed the exiled father and hastened his death.

But on Mora Plain men from all the provinces met in 1319 and chose Magnus, the three-year-old son of the unfortunate Eric, as king of Sweden. Through his mother he was also heir to the throne of Norway.

E. SVERRE, ONE OF NORWAY'S GREATEST KINGS

His Struggles for the Throne. Norway, like Sweden and Denmark, was long rent by civil strife. Here during the twelfth century the descendants of Harold Fairhair fought among themselves for the throne. The royal power was weakened, and the country was on the verge of breaking up into petty states as before the days of Harold Fairhair. Then came Sverre, who was regarded as one of Harold's descendants, and restored unity to the kingdom.

He spent his boyhood on the Faroe Islands, and there on fishing expeditions in the roaring surges of the sea, and in scaling the steep and lofty cliffs of the islands, he developed courage and presence of mind. Under Bishop Roe of the Faroe Islands he was educated for the church and was ordained a deacon. But at this time his mother revealed to him a secret: He was a descendant of Harold Fairhair. At once his decision was made. One day he suddenly appeared in Norway accompanied by a band of ragged adventurers and highwaymen, who on account of their practice of wrapping their legs and feet with birch bark were called Birch-legs (*Birkebeiner*). They were men who endured everything and feared nothing. With this band of seven-

ty men, Sverre would attempt to win a crown. This occurred in the year 1177.

Horrible hardships the Birchlegs had to endure. At times during the winter their only means of subsistence were berries found under the snow. But Sverre led them to victories, and their numbers increased. Finally he won a decisive victory over his antagonist, the king, and ascended Norway's throne.

His Services As King. He crushed the power of the great families and strengthened that of the crown. His aim for Norway was a strong royal power and a free peasantry. Nearly his whole reign was a continuous struggle to maintain this aim. The powerful bishops made common cause with the old families. Twice was Sverre placed under the papal ban. But he did not yield. He was widely known for his wisdom and counsel. He had a high estimate of himself; in his seal was the legend, "The Great King Sverre, fierce as a lion, gentle as a lamb." Even his enemies admitted that it would be long before Norway would have another king like him. He is generally regarded as Norway's greatest king. He died in the year 1202.

His descendants in successive reigns continued his policies under more favorable circumstances. When Sverre's last male descendant, King Håkan, died in 1319, the Norwegian crown passed to his daughter's son, Magnus Ericsson of Sweden.

F. THE REIGN OF MAGNUS ERICSSON

The Union of Sweden and Norway. The three-year-old Magnus Ericsson inherited the crown of Norway through his mother, in 1319, and was elected king of

Sweden the same year. Thus the two kingdoms had the same king, and the first union between them occurred. There was, however, no real union between them, for during the king's minority each kingdom was governed by its own council.

Abolition of Slavery. The young king's rule began well. When he made his royal progress through the kingdom (eriksgata), he issued this decree: "To the glory of God and the Virgin Mary, for the peace of soul of our beloved father and uncles, we enact the law that no one born of Christian parents shall ever be a slave. For as God has freed us from heathenism, so has he freed the slaves." This was a triumph for the teaching of Christianity that all men are brethren and equal before God. Most people, however, had already, at least on their deathbeds, set free their slaves "for Christ's sake."

Establishment of a National Law. Magnus Ericson's reign is noted also for other legislation. Brisk as commerce and communication between different parts of the kingdom had now become, it was most inconvenient to have to regulate trade and traffic according to local laws in the different provinces. Hence, about the year 1350, learned jurists were authorized to unify and compile the laws of the various provinces into a national law for the rural districts of the whole kingdom. There was also published at the same time a general municipal law for all the cities of the kingdom. Henceforth people were not to think of themselves as West Goths or Uplanders, but as citizens of a common country, as Swedes.

Insubordination of the Nobles. During Magnus Ericsson's minority, the great lords, or nobles, became more and more powerful and defied the law and later the king. How was the king to curb these powerful lords when the military power rested with them and their numerous retainers of armed knights? They were just as likely to turn against the king as to go with him. But was there not the respect for the king's person? The Folkung family, to which the king belonged, was only one of the powerful noble families, the king only a lord among other ambitious lords. Magnus complained that he had tried with entreaties and threats to root out the evil practices of the lords, but all in vain. Instead the lords combined against him and overpowered him.

The Dissolution of the Union. The first great misfortune of King Magnus was the loss of Norway. The Norwegians wished to have their own separate king. They complained that the "union king" neglected their land. They demanded of Magnus that his son Håkan should be Norway's king. Magnus had to yield. Thus was the weak union broken.

The Black Death. In the summer of 1349 some Norwegian fishermen discovered a ship adrift near Bergen. There was no crew on board, only some corpses, which were cast into the sea. The fishermen steered the ship into the harbor, happy over their good fortune, for the ship carried a valuable cargo. Merchants came on board, bought goods, and the unloading was soon accomplished. But the following day the new ship owners took sick, and after them, all the rest that had come in contact with the ship and its cargo. Black swellings,

or boils, appeared on the body, accompanied with fever and cold sweats, and in a very short time death followed.

The Oriental plague, usually known as the Black Death, had entered southern Europe about two years before, from there it spread into every European land. It has been estimated that from one-third to one-half of the population of Europe perished from it. It reached Sweden in 1350. There was scarcely a home in the country into which death had not entered. All human power was helpless. With fervent prayers and earnest practice of penance, people everywhere tried to ward off the wrath of heaven. Priests hastened from deathbed to deathbed to administer consolation until they, too, fell victims to the plague. All minds were seized with terror, and many were clouded with the madness of despair.

It is believed that the great plague carried off one-third of the people of Sweden. In some sections the entire population perished. Houses and churches stood empty, and the fields became forests. It is said that in the whole mining district of Vermland only three persons survived the ravages of the plague. Many years afterwards a strange incident occurred in that province. A hunter in a dense forest, having missed his mark, went to recover his arrow, which had stuck in the moss of a tall cliff, as he thought. But the cliff was an old, forgotten, moss-covered church from the time of the Black Death. The village or countryside in which it had been the center was now a dense forest.

Seizure and Ransom of Visby. In Denmark Walde-mar Atterdag had ruled since 1340. His surname,

Atterdag, "again day," is said to have been given him because with him day again arose over Denmark after a long period of depression and weakness. He began as king of only a small part of Jutland, for during the long period of weakness one of the kings had pawned nearly the whole of Denmark to the Dukes of Holstein. Waldemar made it his aim to regain and unite all Denmark again. He carefully concealed his plans, but struck powerfully when opportunity offered. After twenty years of hard struggle his goal was reached.

He had now become a great ruler. His determination was now to curb the proud Hanseatic League. A Danish fleet set out to conquer the Island of Gothland, of old the central point of Baltic commerce. The island at that time recognized the suzerainty of the king of Sweden and paid tribute to him. Here was the Hanse city of Visby, the Pearl of the Baltic. This city had for a long time been the sole intermediary in the trade between western Europe and Russia and the East. It had thus become the wealthiest city in the North. The city boasted of magnificent churches and numerous massive residences, and within their strong city walls the people felt secure. But a stronger came, and with him came disaster. Waldemar triumphed, and the Danes entered the city. The three largest ale casks were set up in the market place to be filled with gold and silver by the people of Visby. After having placed Danish bailiffs in the island, Waldemar sailed home. But one of the ships on which he had placed the booty is said to have perished in the waves.

This pillage was a hard blow to Visby. But the city was already on the decline, for it had met with com-

petitors from the North German Hanse towns, especially from Lübeck. These competitors sailed past Gothland and carried on direct trade with Russia.

Waldemar's Punishment. But Waldemar was not to go unpunished for plundering a city of the Hanseatic League. The league was now at the height of its power. Seventy-seven of its cities from the shores of the Netherlands to the Livonian coasts formed an offensive league against Denmark and allied themselves with some German princes. Waldemar was helpless, for the League controlled the sea, and dearly bought was the peace that followed.

Deposition of Magnus Ericsson. The lords blamed the poor king for all Sweden's disasters, even the Black Death. This was held, forsooth, as a judgment of Heaven for the sins of the king. They offered the crown to a German prince, Albert of Mecklenburg. A long civil war followed, which ended in 1371 with the recognition of Albert as king of Sweden. Magnus was compelled to leave the kingdom. He spent his last years with his son, King Håkan of Norway. They were not many. He perished in a shipwreck. The last act in the drama of the Folkungs was ended.

G. SAINT BIRGITTA

Her Early Life. On Finsta estate in eastern Uppland there was born, about 1300, a child who was to become the first person of European fame from Sweden, St. Birgitta. Her father was a wise and powerful lord, lawman of Uppland. The mother belonged to the Folkung family. Both parents were deeply pious, and she herself, even as a child, prayed fervently to Christ

and the Holy Virgin. She had them ever in her mind and thoughts until at last she fancied she could see them and converse with them.

One winter night, when she could not go to sleep, she lay staring into the darkness until it seemed to recede, and she could see the little altar at the foot of the bed and the crucifix above it. Suddenly she saw only the crucifix. It grew larger, became more real and lifelike. She saw clearly the red bruises from the scourging on the arms of the Crucified. She saw the drops of blood oozing out under the crown of thorns and trickling down into His tearful eyes. It was a sight so piteous that her heart was ready to break with sorrow and sympathy. "O my dear Master, who has done this to you?"



Saint Birgitta. From a painting in Salem Church, Södermanland.

she involuntarily cried out, and her heart beat violently within her. Then the Crucified opened his lips and in a sad voice answered softly: "All who forget me and scorn my love."

Suddenly the light seemed to go out. She could scarcely distinguish the crucifix from the altar. But she could not go to sleep. She could hear the throbbing of her heart in the stillness of the night, and it seemed as if every beat drove nails into her soul. She could not remain in bed. In her bare feet she sprang to the cold floor and threw herself at the foot of the cross.

She was filled with a longing to spend her life in the service of God in the quiet of a cloister cell. But she had to wait for the fulfillment of her dreams. At the early age of thirteen she was given in marriage by her father to a young knight of eighteen, the son of her father's friend. Such betrothals between children were often made by parents that two families might be united for mutual help.

Her Revelations and Asceticism. At the age of forty Birgitta lost her husband. A few days after his death, while she was at prayer, she beheld a shining cloud, and out of it she heard a voice, saying, "Woman, hear me. I am your God, and I will speak to you. You are my bride and the connection between me and the people. You are to hear and see spiritual things, and my Spirit shall abide with you to your last day."

She had received from her dying husband a gold ring, which he asked her to wear as a memory of their marriage. She now removed the ring from her finger. And when people were astonished at such heartlessness, she said, "When I buried my husband, I buried

with him my earthly love, for though I loved him as my own soul, I would not even with one penny buy him back to life against God's will. Now my soul shall devote its love to God alone, and, hence, I will forget both the ring and my husband." She had exchanged her earthly for a heavenly love.

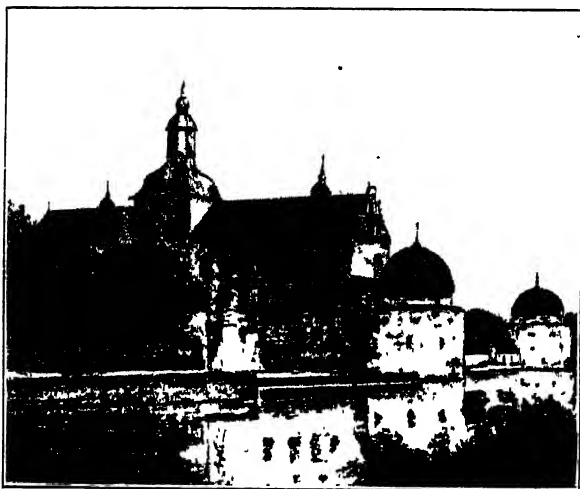
She now devoted herself to self-denial and asceticism. She slept even in winter on the ground with only a rug and a pillow and a thin mantle for a covering. She wore a horsehair garment next her body, and around her waist a knotted rope, which pained her at every move she made. Every Friday she dropped melted wax on her arm to remind her of the Saviour's suffering. There was something strange about her gifts of charity, they seemed to suffice for everybody.

Christ spoke daily to her in revelations. At such times she saw nothing and heard nothing of what happened around her. Afterwards she would tell those about her what glorious things she had seen and heard. Her words were taken down by her father confessors, and were read with appreciation throughout Christendom.

Her Vadstena Cloister and Visit to Rome. Finally the thought occurred to her to establish a new cloister, or convent, at Vadstena in East Gothland. This was to be an improvement on the convents of that day, for in them idleness and luxurious living prevailed. In her cloister men and women were to devote themselves to useful work alternating with devotional exercises. But new cloister regulations had to be sanctioned by the pope. Hence, Birgitta made a pilgrimage to Rome

notwithstanding the ravages of the Black Death in central Europe.

Birgitta came to Rome, the holy city, whose soil had once been dyed in the blood of martyrs. There was now a period of decay. Churches lay in ruins and were profaned. Parties fought among themselves for power,



Vadstena Cloister.

and robber bands held sway in the streets. The shepherd of Rome, the pope, had deserted the city, enticed to France by its king, who thus secured control of the Head of the Church. There the popes and their retinues led luxurious and profligate lives. This disgraceful period lasted nearly seventy years, and, hence, is known as the "Babylonian Captivity of the Popes."

Birgitta was one of the many who deplored this shame of Christendom and saw the remedy in the

pope's return to Rome. Unafraid as usual, she denounced in unmeasured terms this corruption, but for a long time her words were unheeded. At last, however, she had the joy of seeing a pope (Urban V) make his solemn entry into Rome, and she secured the papal sanction of her convent order in 1370.

Her Canonization. After her death, which occurred in Rome, 1373, she was canonized, that is, proclaimed a saint, in 1391. In the papal chapel, decorated with expensive draperies and green olive twigs, a sermon was preached on her miracles and revelations. A hymn of praise was then intoned by the pope, after which he opened the golden book in which all the saints are enrolled, and in it wrote Birgitta's name. In the Church of St. Peter there were held solemn services by the light of thousands of lamps, and bells rang in all the churches in Rome.

H. ALBERT OF MECKLENBURG

The Rule of the Nobles. It was the great lords of Sweden that made Albert of Mecklenburg king. It was an honor dearly bought. He had to give his royal assurance that he would ever rule according to the wishes of the council. The lords had now reached their long desired goal. They had a king only in name, the power rested with them. They could now do just as they pleased, and the oppressed masses had no redress or protection.

The Tyranny of Sweden's Richest Lord. The richest and mightiest man in the kingdom was Bo Jonsson Grip, lord of two-thirds of Sweden and all of Finland. The most of this he held by feudal tenure. To secure

the support of the lords the king had to grant each one a feudal estate. The tenant or holder of the estate was given the right to collect the crown taxes and keep a part or the whole for his own use. But he was in turn to conduct the government within his feudal domain and maintain a military force for the service of the king.

Though Bo Jonsson was the wealthiest lord in the realm, he was never satisfied. Many a time he compelled a peasant to give up his land and home without a penny's compensation, on the threat of imprisonment in the tower. And this man was at the same time lord high chancellor of the realm, the chief administrator of justice in the kingdom.

Deposition and Imprisonment of King Albert. On the death of Bo Jonsson, the king attempted to secure his possessions. But he met with the opposition of the other lords. As they had once invoked the aid of Albert against Magnus Ericsson, so now they appealed to Margaret, ruler of Denmark and Norway, for help against Albert. Margaret was the daughter of Walde-mar Atterdag and had been married to Håkan Magnusson, king of Norway. So able and highly esteemed was she that upon the death of the two kings, she was intrusted with the government in both kingdoms. King Albert heaped insult upon her both in word and deed for presuming to govern, seeing she was but a woman. He met her with German troops near Falköping in West Gothland. His forces were completely vanquished, and he himself was taken prisoner, 1389.

Progress of Scandinavian Union. Again a union was formed of the Scandinavian kingdoms—this time a

union of all three. First the villages had coalesced into provinces, the provinces had consolidated into the three northern kingdoms. Now the attempt was made to form one Scandinavian kingdom.

CHAPTER VI

PERIOD OF THE UNION, 1389-1521

A. MARGARET AND ERIC OF POMERANIA

Queen Margaret. Another day dawned for the Swedish lords when Margaret seized the reins of government. It was soon manifest that she was the daughter of the wise and vigorous Waldemar Atterdag. Law and justice were again respected to the common good of all. But then there was no Bo Jonsson in the country.

It was a magnificent power Margaret had established. The three kingdoms, each by itself weak, could now with united strength successfully contend with dangerous rivals. They should now have been able to break up the Hanseatic monopoly of the northern trade. But one weakness was the fact that Margaret felt herself first and foremost a Dane. To her, Denmark was the chief part in the Union—and, indeed, at the time, Denmark was the wealthiest and most populous of the northern kingdoms. She appointed Danish nobles as bailiffs in the most important Swedish castles, but no Swedish nobleman was ever appointed to such a place in Denmark. The bailiffs were a sort of petty kings in the territories surrounding the castles.

The dissatisfaction with Denmark's supremacy in the Union was hardly noticeable, however, as long as Margaret lived, for she was an able ruler and a noble character, who inspired respect. "Not soon will there be born another woman like her," says an old chronicle.

Eric of Pomerania. It was different when her grand-nephew, Eric of Pomerania, whom she had induced all three kingdoms to choose as her successor, began his reign after her death in 1412. Margaret had regarded herself as a Dane, that was serious; Eric was a German and acted as such, that was more dangerous. Again a large number of Germans crowded into Sweden. They came as the king's bailiffs to rule the Swedish people. This continued until at last Danes and Germans ruled over nearly all the important parts of the kingdom. It was then that the saying arose that the maxim of the Union kings was: "From Sweden your food, from Norway your clothing, from Denmark your defense."

Engelbert Engelbertsson. The Swedish lords were indignant, but it was the Swedish miners and peasants under the lead of the mine owner Engelbert Engelbertsson that took action. When the king refused to give ear to the complaints of his subjects against the tyranny and extortion of his bailiffs, the miners and peasants of Dalecarlia and Westmanland rose in a body under Engelbert and drove the tormentors from their strong castles. The peasantry in other provinces joined in the uprising, and in four months the kingdom was cleared of foreign bailiffs. To such power had the peasantry now risen that Engelbert could compel the great Swedish lords who sat in the king's council to renounce their allegiance to King Eric. And at the

first Swedish Riksdag (Parliament), held at Arboga in 1435, the peasantry forced through an enactment that Engelbert should continue to govern Sweden as regent of the realm. This was the first time the peasantry had a hand in determining the government of the kingdom. This had hitherto been done by the wealthy nobles at the lords' diets. Thanks to Engelbert and his faithful followers the peasants and burghers had now become a power in the kingdom. Henceforth they had a chance together with the nobles and the clergy to exert their influence in the Swedish Riksdag.

Result of Engelbert's Services. A year after the Riksdag of Arboga Engelbert fell a victim to the murderous hand of a coarse and vindictive nobleman. Short was his heroic career, but of singular importance. He united all classes and all provinces in the service of a common fatherland. In sentiment and by conviction the Swedes had become one people. Before this they had been forced to unite by pressure from above. By their war of liberation the Swedish commons had saved themselves from the threat of serfdom. In the Danish islands the peasantry had at this time succumbed to serfdom. But thanks to Engelbert, Sweden is one of the few countries in which the peasants were never serfs.

B. KARL KNUTSSON AND CHRISTIAN I

The Two Parties, the Swedish and the Union. When Engelbert fell, the commons were without a leader. Again the lords undertook to settle matters concerning the crown. But they were now divided into a Swedish Party, desiring a native king, and a Union Party. It

seems strange that any one could wish to continue a union which had led to so much abuse. But to many or the lords it seemed so restful to have a king residing in Denmark, they could then do as they pleased at home. Besides many of the lords had by marriage and kinship become as much Danes as Swedes.

Karl Knutsson Bonde. At the head of the Swedish party was the rich and lordly nobleman, Karl Knutsson Bonde. He was stately and chivalrous in his bearing and made many friends by his liberality. In 1448 he succeeded in being acclaimed king of Sweden. At the same time the Danes chose once more a German as king, Christian of Oldenburg. He became the founder of the Oldenburg family, which still rules in Denmark.

The Contest for Norway. The question was now to which of the two Norway should go. Norway had by this time been so weakened that she could not stand alone. Through long and bitter civil struggles, the Norwegian peasantry had become exhausted and indifferent to the weal or woe of the kingdom. Each one sat in his own village and cared only for it. There was no leader like Engelbert who could rouse the peasants out of their lethargy.

Both Karl Knutsson and Christian I desired Norway. They finally agreed to submit the matter to a joint meeting of Swedish and Danish councilmen. These lords decided that Karl should concede Norway to Christian, 1450. From that time to 1814 Norway was united with Denmark.

Thus was King Karl betrayed by his lords, as they did not like to have his power increased. But after

this, peace could not be maintained between the two ambitious kings. A fierce border war followed.

Jöns Bengtsson Oxenstiern. While King Karl was engaged in this war, a dangerous enemy arose in his rear. It was the rich and mighty archbishop Jöns Bengtsson Oxenstiern. It had long vexed him that his own family should be pushed aside by the Bonde family. He was determined to snatch the power from Karl Knutsson. One day he entered the cathedral of Uppsala, advanced to the high altar, laid down his miter and vowed not to take it up again until Karl had been driven from the land. Then he put on his armor and buckled the sword to his side. One night he succeeded in surprising the king and capturing his men. Karl himself was wounded, and, deserted by his friends, was compelled to leave the country.

The archbishop and his following then called in Christian of Denmark. He came and was at once chosen king by the lords. But as nearly all his activities consisted in extorting taxes, he was given the nickname "Bottomless-empty-purse" by the enraged peasantry, and was after a few years driven out. Karl Knutsson was then recalled. But Jöns Bengtsson would give him no peace. The parties raged against each other in a bewildering fight, which shook the whole kingdom. Karl Knutsson was driven out a second time and lived for a while in extreme poverty in Finland. For a third time fortune bestowed the crown of Sweden on him. But civil war blazed up again and raged violently throughout the land. In the midst of the turmoil Karl Knutsson passed away, in 1470, after having had many bitter experiences of the world's unrest and the fickleness of fortune.

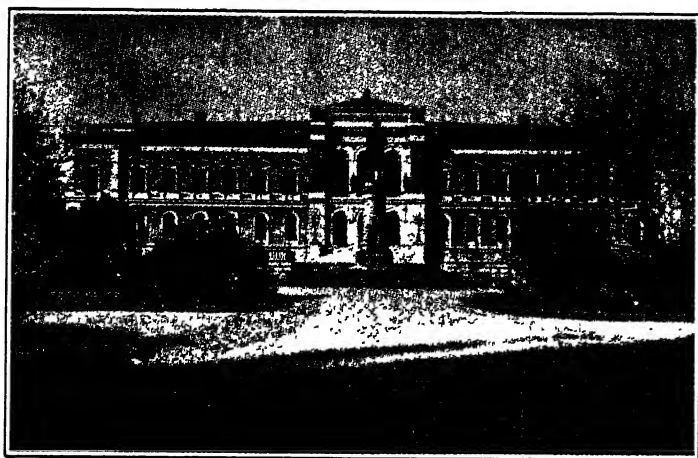
C. STEN STURE THE ELDER

The Battle of Brunkeberg. Christian I determined, by a mighty effort, to win back the crown of Sweden. With a splendid army he sailed in 1471 to Stockholm and fortified himself on Brunkeberg Ridge. But there was now a powerful leader at the head of the Swedish party. This was Karl Knutsson's kinsman and faithful supporter, Sten Sture the Elder, who had been appointed regent by the council. At the head of a peasant army collected from surrounding provinces, he vanquished Christian so completely that he secured his country from attacks of Danish kings for nearly thirty years.

Sten Sture's Internal Administration. After the war Sten Sture strove to heal the evils caused by the many recent wars. Under the aegis of peace all classes could more freely pursue their various callings, hence, prosperity revived. Law and justice prevailed, for it was useless to defy the regent. Sten Sture, like Engelbert, was a man after the mind and heart of the commons. He often visited the peasants in their homes, talked freely with them, and won their hearts by his frank and unassuming ways.

Owing to the long peace, the government could also provide for the culture of the country. Jacob Ulfsson, the learned and highly gifted archbishop, wished to found a Swedish institution of higher learning. In the convents and at the cathedrals there were schools, but they were intended mainly for the training of priests and monks. In them the instruction was largely limited to religion, reading, writing, arithmetic, and some Latin, the language of the cultured in all lands.

Young men who wished to secure a higher education had to make difficult and expensive journeys to Paris, or some other foreign city, where a university might be found. To afford young men of limited means an opportunity to continue their studies at home, the archbishop, backed up by the regent, procured the papal sanction to the founding of Uppsala University,



Uppsala University.

1477. Two years later the University of Copenhagen was founded. But it required more than a hundred years to make Uppsala University what it should be. There was a scarcity of capable teachers, scarcity of means, and, hence, also scarcity of books. Books were still very costly, although printing presses were beginning to be established in Sweden.

The Art of Printing. About the middle of the fifteenth century John Gutenberg of Mainz invented the

art of printing with movable type. Before this, printing from wooden tablets engraved with pictures and explanations had been practiced. Page after page could thus be printed. But this was not much cheaper than writing, for the engraved tablets were expensive, and there had to be one for every different page. Gutenberg's invention consisted in cutting out each separate letter. These could then be combined in any way one pleased and be used for any book. He soon made improvements by casting metal type. Even in the sixteenth century books could be made so cheaply that even people in moderate circumstances could own them and thus derive knowledge from them.

D. STEN STURE THE YOUNGER AND CHRISTIAN II

Christian II of Denmark. Christian II, grandson of Christian I, was a strong and richly endowed prince. He aroused the admiration of everybody when at tournaments he managed his steed and with his lance unhorsed one antagonist after another. But he was also feared for his suspicious nature and fierce temper. When he became king he wished to realize his early ambition to conquer Sweden.

Sten Sture the Younger and Gustav Trolle. Sten Sture the Younger, a noble and chivalrous youth, was then regent in Sweden. He had a bitter enemy in Archbishop Ulfsson's successor, Gustav Trolle, who powerfully reminds one of Jöns Bengtsson Oxenstiern. Sten Sture had aided him in securing his lucrative and honorable office, and sought afterwards again and again to effect a reconciliation. Finally he went to Uppsala and in the very cathedral offered his hand to the arch-

bishop for conciliation. But the latter turned away with contempt and secretly entered into negotiations with Christian. Sten Sture at last sought support from a Riksdag and revealed to the Estates the treason of the archbishop. Filled with indignation the Riksdag decreed that the archbishop should be deposed, and his strong castle, "Stäket," on the Mälar, from which he had defied the regent, should be leveled with the ground. The decree was immediately carried out.

Christian's First Attack on Sweden. To make matters worse, Christian intervened. In the summer of 1518, he appeared before Stockholm with a large army. But the regent with his peasant army defeated the mercenaries of the king in a short battle at Brännkyrka, south of the city. As he could accomplish nothing, Christian now boarded his fleet and offered to negotiate peace with the regent, inviting him to come on board his fleet. Sten Sture, who never thought of treachery himself, suspected no ill intention. But his friends warned him that he would never come back alive from a meeting with Christian. He heeded the warning, to the deep resentment of Christian, who now offered to come himself to Stockholm to negotiate on condition that six Swedish nobles be sent to his fleet as hostages for his safety. The Swedes accepted Christian's demands as the giving of hostages was a common practice in similar cases. But when the six nobles came on board the Danish fleet, Christian imprisoned them and sailed back to Denmark. He was fully determined to return with a powerful army. Sweden must and should be subdued.

Christian's Second Attack on Sweden. Christian now made great preparations and strained Denmark's powers to the utmost. He assembled an army so large and so well trained that victory must be assured. At the opening of the year 1520, the Danes invaded West Gothland. Again the Swedish peasants were willing and ready to fight for the defense of the fatherland. But at the opening of the conflict Sten Sture was severely wounded in the leg by a cannon ball. Left without a commander, the peasants got confused and were forced to retreat. The enemy pressed on across Tiveden and into Svealand. In spite of his intense suffering, Sten Sture thought only of the defense of his country and wished to hasten to Stockholm to organize the defense. But he did not reach Stockholm. In a sleigh, on the ice of the Mälars, he passed away. His greatest glory is the fact that during all these rancorous times he never stained his memory with a single mean act.

It soon became apparent what Sten Sture had meant to his country. The peasants gathered in crowds and clamored for fight, but had to disperse again, as none of the lords had the will or the courage to lead them. Of Gustav Trolle and his party the Danish commander wrote to Christian: "He and his friends spare neither life nor comfort for the cause of Your Grace." He succeeded, too, in inducing one after another to desert the Swedish cause.

But there were some who did not lose heart. They gathered around Christina Gyllenstierna, Sten Sture's young widow. In her bitter sorrow, surrounded by four small children, she did not shirk the high duty of

carrying on her husband's work. She assumed command of Stockholm Castle. She held back her tears and encouraged the burghers to make a brave defense. When Christian's attack on the capital failed, he began with fair promises to induce the city's defenders to yield. He promised to forgive all opposition he had encountered, and guaranteed their law and justice to all the inhabitants of the land. Then the capital yielded and surrendered in the fall of 1520, and Christian was solemnly crowned king of Sweden.

The Massacre of Stockholm. Christian II was now king of Sweden. "Now," he thought, "I will crush the stubborn nobility of Sweden, crush them so they will never again be able to raise an insurrection."

On account of the coronation ceremonies the foremost men of the kingdom were assembled in Stockholm. The day after the coronation, November 7, Christian summoned them to meet him in the castle. No one suspected what was coming. But the purpose was made plain, when Gustav Trolle appeared before the king and demanded that all who had taken part in his deposition should be summarily punished. Then more than one face paled, and a shudder passed through the hall. There followed an inquiry and trial of those present, who were all detained in the castle till the next day. A tribunal was constituted, which condemned to death all those accused. On the same day, November 8, 1520, there were beheaded in the Great Square (or Market) in Stockholm more than eighty persons, councilmen and other influential men. A number of burghers were snatched from their labors, hurried off to the Square, and put to death without a trial. This ghastly event

has been called the Massacre of Stockholm, and has given to Christian II the name of Tyrant.

Christina Gyllenstierna and other noble women who were made widows in this ghastly fashion were cast into prison. On his way back to Denmark Christian continued his bloody work in other parts of the kingdom. Gibbets and executions marked his progress through the land. The government of Sweden during his absence he intrusted to a few Danish, German, and Swedish lords, among whom was Gustav Trolle. As commanders in the castles he appointed Danes and Germans.

The people of Sweden were stunned with terror. "Now," thought Christian, "the Swedes will never again be able to organize a rebellion, for who would lead them?"

E. GUSTAVUS VASA AND THE WAR OF LIBERATION

His Flight. Before Christian had crossed the Swedish border on his way home, rumor brought him the name of a new champion of Swedish liberty, the young knight, Gustavus Ericsson Vasa. He had already distinguished himself in the war against Christian. He was one of the six nobles who had been sent as hostages to Christian's fleet and had been carried captive to Denmark. He had already learned how that king kept his plighted troth. After a year's imprisonment in Denmark, he succeeded in making his escape. He made his way to Lübeck, and from there he finally secured passage on a ship to Sweden.

In the spring of 1520 he landed in Sweden immediately south of Kalmar. Disguised, and by sequestered

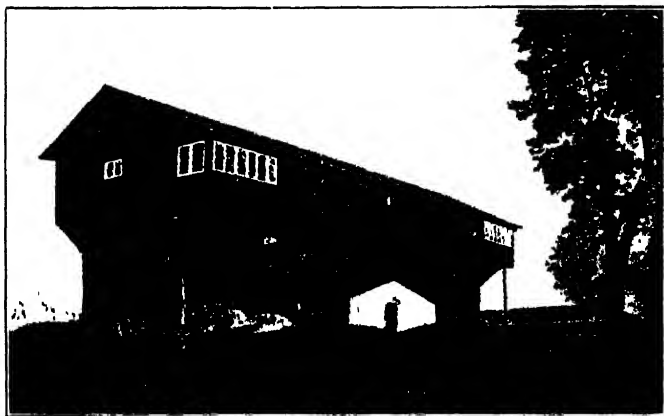
paths, he reached the home of his sister and her husband, the councilman Joachim Brahe, in Södermanland. They were planning to attend Christian's coronation in Stockholm. Gustavus warned them of the danger and begged them not to go. But they had faith in Christian and went.

Some time later an old servant of his brother-in-law returned from Stockholm and, in words choked with tears, told Gustavus of the Massacre of Stockholm, and the murder of his father and brother-in-law, and the imprisonment of his mother and sister. This was bitter news. What enabled Gustavus to bear up was the thought that Sweden must be saved. His hope lay in Dalecarlia. Disguised as a Dalecarlian peasant, with round hat and homespun jacket and an ax on his shoulder, he set out on foot as one seeking work.

His Adventures in Dalecarlia. Of his adventures in Dalecarlia Peder Svart, Bishop of Vesterås, later an intimate friend of Gustavus, has given the following sketch: "He took service with Anders Persson of Rankhyttan, clad as a peasant and keeping his identity to himself. But a servant girl informed Anders Persson that she had noticed a gold embroidered collar jut out from beneath the coarse peasant jacket. So Anders Persson knew that the stranger was no common laborer. He had a private talk with Gustavus and soon recognized him as a former fellow student at Uppsala University. But he was afraid to keep the fugitive lest he should be discovered, and advised him to seek a safer place.

"Gustavus then proceeded further, and came to Arent Persson of Ornäs, whom he trusted, and to whom he

made himself known. Arent treated him in a friendly way and assured him that he could remain there without danger. But Arent was a cunning man and saw an opportunity to ingratiate himself with Christian and his party. So he repaired to Christian's bailiff of the province, and informed him of what had happened.



The Cottage of Ornäs.

Arent returned home accompanied by the bailiff and twenty men, intent upon arresting the fugitive. But Arent's wife had noticed which way her husband had gone, and had understood his intentions. She warned Gustavus and got him a horse and sleigh and a servant to drive him over the ice across Lake Runn to Parson Jon in Svärdsjö."

But the priest dared not keep the fugitive, for the region teemed with spies, as Christian had offered a large reward for the arrest of Gustavus. Hence, a safer hiding place was sought with Sven Elfsson in

Isala. But Gustavus had hardly arrived there before spies entered the house and asked for the fugitive. Elfsson's wife was busy baking, and Gustavus stood beside the oven warming himself. The clever woman raised her bread-shovel and gave him a smart blow across his back and cried, "Why do you stand here and stare at strangers as if you had never seen people before? Out to your threshing in the barn." He shuffled out of the house. The spies could never imagine that it was the proud Knight Gustavus that this humble woman could treat with such disrespect, and so hurried on their way to the next place.

But Sven Elfsson did not think Gustavus sufficiently safe in Isala. So he imbedded him in a big load of straw and drove out toward the lonely forests. He soon met some Danish spies. To make sure, they thrust their spears several times into the straw and wounded Gustavus in the leg. He quietly bore the pain, and Sven Elfsson proceeded on his way. He soon noticed that blood was trickling from the load and staining the snow. He quickly seized his knife and cut his horse's foot till it bled. When new spies arrived and inquired about the blood stains, he pointed to the bleeding foot of his horse, and was permitted to go on.

His Appeal to the Dalecarlians. At Christmas time, 1520, he had reached Rättvik, on the east side of Lake Silja, in the very heart of Dalecarlia. Here, at the close of the services in church, he spoke openly to the people for the first time. Later he did the same at Mora, on the north side of the lake. He spoke vehemently of Christian's perfidy, which he had personally experienced, and described the Massacre of Stockholm.

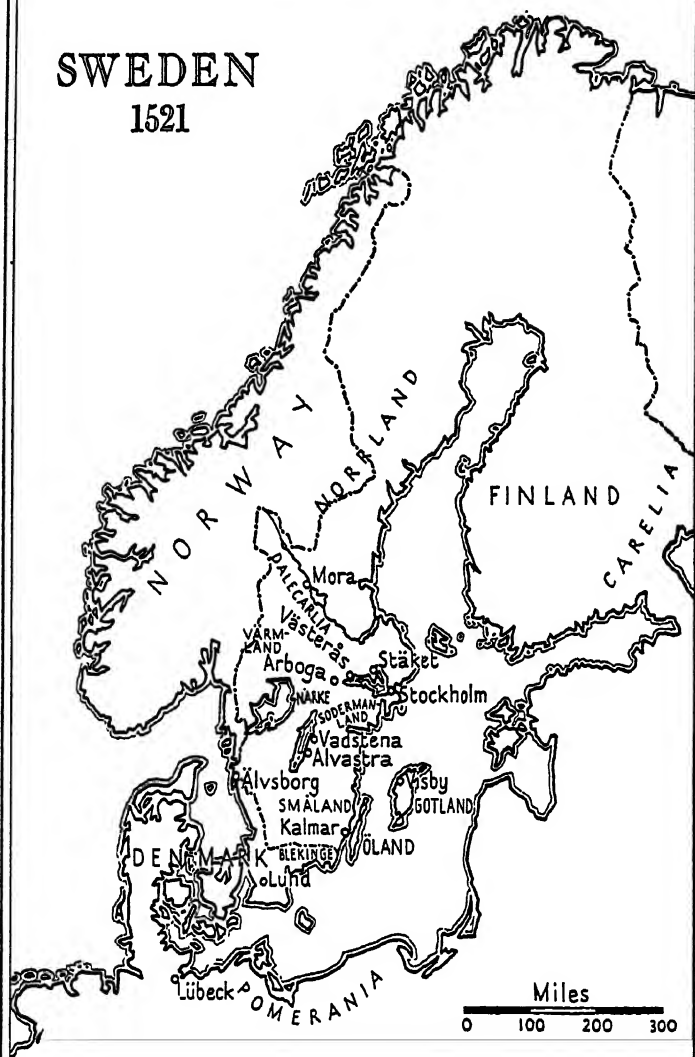
He reminded them of the days of Engelbert and the two Stures, exhorted them to take up arms again, and offered with God's help to lead them against the foe.

But the peasants were tired of the constant fighting, and Gustavus they hardly knew. They had not heard that Christian was harsh against any classes, except the proud lords. His last hope now vanished. He had risked his life in vain. Nothing now remained for him, but to save himself. Up toward the bleak northwest he now pursued his lonely way on skis. More somber became the forests, more savage the mountains, more gloomy became the mind of Gustavus. Before him lay the high Norwegian fjeld, which was to separate him forever from a lost fatherland.

His Recall to Mora. Shortly after his departure from Mora, some men of note arrived there as fugitives. Their report of Christian's bloody proceedings brought tears to the eyes of the hearers. They were now informed that Christian intended to visit them too on his bloody royal progress, that he had ordered the peasants to surrender their arms, and that he had levied a heavy tax on the land. Then muttered many a Mora man, "God grant that we may not have to repent that we turned a deaf ear to Gustavus Ericsson." On the advice of the fugitives the peasants sent some of their best ski-runners to entreat Gustavus to return. Day and night they followed his track and reached him near the Norwegian border. With joy he returned with them to Mora. Thither assembled the foremost men from east and west and chose Gustavus Ericsson Vasa as commander of the Dalecarlians, in January, 1521.

SWEDEN

1521



The Opening of the War. Each day there gathered around Gustavus crowds of armed peasants, and many a trained warrior, who had sought refuge in the forests, came forth to offer his services. The miners, too, of southern Dalecarlia swore fealty to Gustavus.

But in Stockholm Gustav Trolle and his associates in the government had become seriously alarmed. They collected a considerable army and marched up to Dalecarlia. At the Brunbäck Ferry on the River Dal (Dalälven) they found the Dalecarlians encamped on the north side of the river. Gustavus himself was absent on a recruiting expedition in Helsingland and Gestrikland. It is said that a certain Danish leader asked how large a force Dalecarlia could furnish, and when he was told 20,000 at least, he asked how such a multitude of people could find sustenance there. The answer was, "The people there are accustomed to few dainties. The greater part drink nothing but water, and when it is necessary they can live on bark-bread." Then he is said to have exclaimed, "Men who eat wood and drink water the evil one himself can not subdue, much less can man. Brethren, let us depart from here right soon." But when the Dalecarlians beheld the Danes retreating, they rushed across the river and put them to flight.

Victory at Vesterås and Siege of Stockholm. After having organized and trained his men, Gustavus advanced into Westmanland at the head of 15,000 men. The Danes met him at Vesterås, but were defeated and put to flight. After this success the uprising spread rapidly as in Engelbert's time. It was not long before Gustavus was chosen regent of the realm by the Estates. Before the end of the year the members of Chris-

tian's Swedish government had departed for Denmark. But the capital itself held out a long time against Gustavus, for the Danes controlled the entrance to the city from the sea, and could provide the city with men and supplies. This Gustavus could not prevent for he had no fleet. By land his forces consisted entirely of peasants, who were indeed brave fighters, but untrained. At seed time and harvest the majority had to return home to their fields.

Fortunately for Sweden, Christian had become involved in a war with Lübeck. From this wealthy city Gustavus could now secure ships and trained soldiers. Stockholm was completely invested and the siege pressed with vigor.

Gustavus Elected King. His Entry into Stockholm. On June 6, 1523, Gustavus was unanimously elected king by a Riksdag in Strengnäs. At midsummer Stockholm surrendered. The city had long been in a deplorable condition. Wooden structures had been torn down and used for fuel or defense, food and ammunition failed, and famine and pestilence raged. On midsummer eve Gustavus made his solemn entry into the devastated capital.

Final Dissolution of the Union. The union between Sweden and Denmark was dissolved forever. After having been abused by such men as Eric of Pomerania and Christian II, it could not be renewed. The liberty-loving Swedish people could not endure such bonds.

F. CHANGE OF REIGN ALSO IN DENMARK

Christian's Efforts to Crush the Danish Nobility. In Denmark, as in Sweden, Christian sought to break down the power of the haughty nobility. But for this he needed a strong army of mercenaries. To secure and maintain them large sums were necessary. The needed funds he would procure through commerce. A flourishing trade was to be built up and fostered. This would enrich the burgher class and enable them to pay heavier taxes, and larger revenues would flow from the increased tolls. He sought to unite the merchants of the three northern countries into a great trading corporation to supplant the Hanseatic League.

But against the powerful nobles he needed not only the co-operation of the burghers, but also of the peasants. Through legislation he labored to improve the condition of the poor peasants, to abolish serfdom, and strengthen the administration of justice. He forbade the "evil and unchristian" practice, prevalent on the Danish islands, of selling poor peasants like cattle. Hence, Christian was not only a bloodstained tyrant.

Christian's Deposition, Exile, and Imprisonment. Christian's methods were too violent. Even in Denmark he caused nobles to be put to death contrary to law and justice. Thus he set the nobles against him and provoked an insurrection. They conspired against him and proclaimed his uncle Frederick as king. In this hour of danger no one came to his aid, not even the peasants. For how could any one trust so guilty a king, who broke his most sacred promises, and in wild rage could commit any bloody crime whatever? When

he realized how absolutely alone he was, he lost courage and fled the country to the Netherlands. Later he made an attempt to regain his three crowns, but was taken captive and imprisoned for seventeen long years, during which he had many an hour of gloomy despair. And when the prison gates were opened for the former ruler of three kingdoms, it was a feeble old man that tottered out.

G. LIFE IN THE CITIES

Origin of the Cities. The cities of Sweden grew up in the most fertile parts of the country in places favorable to communication, especially along water courses. These localities were often meeting places for sacrifice and for popular assemblies. When people came together in large numbers for sacrificing or holding of court, they brought with them goods or articles which they wished to sell or exchange for other wares. Thus markets or fairs arose. Merchants and craftsmen found it convenient to locate in such places. Thus the market place grew into a city. Such ancient assembly places were Uppsala for Uppland; Kalmar for the eastern border; Jönköping for the interior of Småland; Skara for the eastern and Lödöse for the western section of West Gothland and Bohuslän. The townspeople lived mainly by trade and handicrafts.

Trade. Trade was a monopoly, a privilege, of the cities. In Magnus Ericsson's Municipal Law it was enjoined that "all purchases shall be made in the city, both between country people and city folk, and not in the country or elsewhere." The penalty for any violation of this law was the forfeiture of the goods and a fine of not less than 40 marks (a mark = \$80).

Stores for buying and selling did not then exist. The merchant with his wares was in a booth, the buyer stood outside in the street, the transaction was conducted through a window-opening, the shutter for this opening was let down, forming a counter, which had a projecting roof over it.

The Handicrafts. All workmen belonging to the same craft or trade formed a union, or guild. The guilds were governed by minute regulations, which had to be carefully observed. Any one who wished to pursue a certain trade had to begin as an apprentice under a master, who was to train him and care for him as if he were his own son. When the apprentice had finished the prescribed course, he had to pass the test required for a journeyman. Then as a journeyman the youth had to visit foreign lands and learn new things and methods. So he bade farewell to his home, and with wallet and staff he traveled from city to city, took service where he could, and went farther when it pleased him. Hunger and cold he had to endure, but he lived a care-free life and gained a rich experience. After his return home, having there passed the master's test and paid a certain fee, he was permitted to pursue his craft and have under him a certain number of journeymen and apprentices.

To guard against carelessness and inferior workmanship, all work was supervised by the president of the guild and his assistants. The guild also fixed the selling price of the goods so that no master could undersell another. Competition did not exist, hence, novelties and improvements came slowly. But the buyer could depend on receiving a genuine article.

The workman regarded his craft as a sacred charge from God. With the craftsman there was nothing of the knight's thirst for war and adventure, instead, there was the honor of dutiful and patient labor. "The toiler's sweat is more pleasing to God than prayers," they said. They took much pride in fine workmanship. Blunders and defects in the work put out were to them a shame. "If no one else sees it," they said, "our dear God in heaven does." The guild system continued in Sweden until 1846.

CHAPTER VII

REIGN OF GUSTAVUS VASA, 1523-1560

A. THE ADMINISTRATION

Conditions at the Opening of the Reign. Gustavus Vasa was the founder of the modern Swedish monarchy. Through his War of Liberation he had restored the political independence of the country. He was also to secure for the country its religious, or ecclesiastical independence. This he effected by introducing the Reformation, which Martin Luther had inaugurated in Germany. After the long civil wars against the union kings, Sweden and the Swedish people were completely impoverished. But the church had accumulated immense wealth in gold and silver vessels, ornaments, and rich vestments, and owned one-fifth of the land in the country. The king needed this superfluous wealth for the recovery of the country. But the pope would never permit the wealth of the Church to be put to

secular uses. Hence, the only way out was to break down the power of the pope and the Catholic Church; for was it right that those who were to be the ministers of Christ should hold immense stores of superfluous wealth gathered from the country while the country itself was on the verge of economic ruin?

Services of Olavus Petri. Among the young men who gathered around Luther at Wittenberg there was a young student from Sweden named Olavus Petri, the son of a blacksmith of Örebro. He learned and accepted the doctrines and imbibed the spirit of Martin Luther, and upon his return to Sweden he proclaimed these doctrines with warmth and boldness as teacher and preach-



Gustavus Vasa.

er at Strengnäs. Among his hearers was the able and gifted Laurentius Andreæ, archdeacon of Strengnäs, and now, after the death of the bishop, head of the diocese. Through him the king was made more fully acquainted with the doctrines of the Reformation. While attending the Riksdag in Strengnäs, Gustavus heard Olavus Petri, and he was well pleased with his plain and earnest preaching. With his clear, un-

biased mind, the king recognized the truth of the doctrines so earnestly proclaimed. He soon after appointed Laurentius Andreæ as his chancellor, and installed



Olavus Petri.

Olavus Petri as preacher in "Storkyrkan," the Great Church of Stockholm.

Olavus Petri, or "Master Olof," as he was familiarly called, had many adherents, but also many bitter enemies. Some of the latter would at times interrupt his

sermons and hurl abuse and even stones at him. By means of the printing press his doctrine spread to every part of the kingdom. That every one might have a chance to know the truth, he and his associates issued the first Swedish translation of the New Testament, 1526. This work was condemned by the Catholic clergy on the plea that it would be misunderstood and misinterpreted by the ignorant masses. Bishop Brask is reported to have said:

"It were better
That Paul were burned
Than of each man learned."

Olavus Petri likewise published the first Swedish hymnbook, a book of sermons, and many other works. His publications were so numerous that it may well be said that "he taught the Swedish people to read." He was also the first real Swedish historian.

The Vesterås Riksdag. Gustavus had to engage in a decisive contest with the Roman Church to secure means for saving the state. He had found support in Martin Luther's utterances. It was a dangerous path he had to tread, but he feared not the danger. He was himself fully in accord with the doctrines of the Reformation. From these he declared he would not swerve as long as his heart was whole and his blood warm. To settle the matter he summoned a Riksdag to Vesterås in 1527. The king's report of the condition of the country was read before the assembled Estates. In it he set forth how difficult it was to conduct the government when its revenues were wholly inadequate. He asked the Estates to provide the necessary funds. He

did not mention the source whence the means were to come, but every one knew the only source available.

According to Peder Svart, "Bishop Brask then answered: 'We who belong to the spiritual Estate have sworn our Most Holy Father, the Pope, that we will not do anything in spiritual matters without his consent. Therefore, it is not possible for us to relinquish any of the possessions of the Holy Church.' The king then asked the council and the nobles if they thought this answer was right. Councilman Ture Jönsson and his party said that they could not see but that the answer was practically correct. Then Gustavus' patience gave way. 'On such conditions,' he said, 'I have no desire to be your king. I had, indeed, expected another answer from you. Now I am not surprised that the peasantry are wild and unruly, for I see what fine abettors they have. If they get no rain they blame me, if they get no sunshine they do the same. I may work for your good to the utmost, but I have no reward to expect but your wish to see the ax sunk in my head, though no one dares to hold the handle. Be therefore prepared to pay me back what I have spent of my own for the kingdom, and I will depart and never return to my ungrateful country.' Toward the end of the speech the king burst into tears. He would say no more, but left the room and went to the castle. Now, when the king began to shed tears, the greater part of the people wept too. But they were all so stunned that they could come to no action that day. . . . The next day they met again to engage in the business of the meeting. But they got nowhere. . . . The third day the burghers and peasants began to upbraid the clergy

and the nobles, saying, 'If you wish to be the cause of our ruin, we will with the help of Gustavus destroy you.' "

Finally they decided to ask the king to resume the government, assuring him that the Estates would gladly yield to his wishes. On the fourth day the king appeared before the Estates and was received with every mark of respect. An act was then drawn according to the king's wishes and in due order passed by the Riksdag: In the first place all superfluous incomes of the bishops, cathedrals, and convents should be appropriated for the relief of the state treasury, and all castles and strongholds of the bishops should be confiscated. In the second place, the Word of God should be preached in its purity in every part of the kingdom.

Results of the Acts of Vesterås Riksdag. Henceforth the king instead of the pope became the chief governor of the Church of Sweden. The clergy in all secular matters became amenable to the civil courts as other citizens. The powerful bishops' days were ended. They ceased to be members of the king's council. Bishop Brask could not endure the new, "evil times," since he had to give up his beloved castle, and so departed to foreign lands.* Under the influence of the new faith and changed conditions, people ceased to shut themselves up in convents. The acts of the Riksdag had not abolished the convents, but only seized

* In 1531 the devout and gentle Laurentius Petri, younger brother of Olavus Petri, was elected archbishop of Uppsala, which position he held till his death in 1573. During this long period, the evangelical doctrines and practices spread throughout the kingdom and became deeply rooted in the minds and hearts of the people.

their superfluous incomes. Gradually, however, they dissolved of their own accord. Some were converted into hospitals.

The Defense of the Realm. But when the Vesterås acts were to be put into effect they were met, like every reform, with determined opposition from all who stubbornly held to the old. The opposition at times took the form of insurrection against the king. Gustavus, however, succeeded in putting down the uprisings and restoring harmony in the country.

Peace and quiet were finally attained, but Gustavus labored just as sedulously to strengthen and improve his country. The income from 12,000 estates, relinquished by the Church, he devoted largely toward the defense of the realm. Armies of regular and trained soldiers were needed; for neither the peasant levies nor the mounted retinue of the nobles could render the same service as formerly, since firearms were now coming more and more into use. Gustavus did not forget the lessons of the war of liberation. He created a strong standing army and a fine fleet for defense against enemies. At the same time, however, he exerted himself to the utmost to save Sweden from the curse of war.

Supervision over Governors and Bailiffs. Gustavus interested himself in everything, and kept a close



Laurentius Petri.

watch over his officials. He audited their accounts, and if he found any errors, he was unsparing in his reproofs. He would at times reprove his bailiffs for mixing up matters till they could not understand their own accounts, but to "wallow and welter in the nation's wealth," that they well understood how to do. They soon learned to turn to the king for direction in everything. If supplies were needed, if repairs were to be made, or some construction work undertaken, they would always consult the king. But Gustavus also expected that his governors and bailiffs would in turn remember him with some little gift of "good things" from their respective regions.

The King's Interest in Agriculture. Gustavus had a very intimate knowledge of agriculture. He had a large number of farms and stock-stations in various parts of the country, which served as models for the peasantry. On his many journeys throughout the country he was untiring in admonishing the peasants to clear the ground, dig ditches, and harvest their crops in proper time. Where such warnings were not heeded he threatened punishment. He ordered his bailiffs to procure workmen for neglected farms and to require the owners to pay not only for the labor, but to pay a fine as well. Where peasants would not work their farms in a proper way he threatened confiscation of their farms. These were severe measures, but they were needed, for the Swedish peasant was inclined to be slow and sluggish.

His Improvements in the Mining Industry. For improvements in the mining industry he invited skilled

workmen from Germany, who introduced the rolling mill and the production of bar iron. The king tried to encourage his people to substitute this more profitable iron product for the old pig iron production. He established forges for his own profit and as an example for his people. The Sala silver mine was an object of his special attention, and it yielded very rich returns.

His Encouragement of Commerce. But commerce, especially foreign trade, received his most careful attention. First of all he put an end to the trade supremacy of the Hanseatic League in Sweden. The Lübeckers had become so overbearing that the Swedes and Danes united their forces against them. By their combined strength they defeated the enemy both on land and sea.. In the treaty that followed, Lübeck lost her great trade privileges in the North.

But even after this Gustavus had occasion to reprove his people for rushing to Lübeck and other Baltic cities with their Swedish wares, glutting the market till they had to sell their products at great loss. They were equally foolish in their buying. They crowded into the foreign markets and bid up the prices against each other.

But Gustavus did not only chide. He summoned the burghers and showed them how to conduct their trade. The Swedish merchants must go beyond the Baltic to the cities along the North Sea and the Atlantic and buy their goods. They would not then have to pay the profits charged by the Baltic traders. As a result of these suggestions Swedish merchantmen found their way to England, the Netherlands, France, and even to Portugal and Spain. The king himself was the greatest

business man in the kingdom. He took part with his own ships in these expeditions and often offered the merchants to carry their goods for them.

The Results of the King's Economic Measures. Thus Gustavus conducted the affairs of his kingdom as the master of a large estate. Through these activities prosperity was promoted throughout the kingdom. Gustavus understood, too, how to manage his own economic affairs. At length he owned individually 5,000 estates and had a very rich treasury. He was accounted one of the wealthiest princes in Europe. He appreciated the value of money, "for," said he, "it costs the sweat and toil of the people." His thrift sometimes degenerated into stinginess, but when the state was in danger he was ready to sacrifice all his own savings.

The Decline of Education. One thing declined, however, during Gustavus' reign. It was education. The most gifted Catholic priests and teachers left their heretical fatherland, and none came in their place. Ministers and judges were often terribly ignorant. And in spite of all this the king was very sparing of his gold and silver when it came to the support of schools. He seems to have been too much occupied with accounts and economics to think seriously of education.

B. THE DACKE INSURRECTION

Autocratic Policies. Gustavus could with good reason look back with satisfaction upon his work, and so he did. In letters to be read at the great fairs, in 1540, he compares himself to Moses. As that great man of

God delivered the Children of Israel, so had Gustavus "with the signal power and dispensation of God" delivered his people from the "terrible bloodhound and tyrant, old King Christian."

Gustavus now felt secure in his position and thought he could govern his kingdom according to his own good will. He dismissed his councilors, Olavus Petri and Laurentius Andreæ, who had assisted him in the introduction of the Reformation. They were too independent to submit to the king in all matters. But it was not possible for the king to find any one in the kingdom of sufficient training, experience, and knowledge of world affairs to serve as his secretary. So he chose Germans as his councilors. They submitted plans to him that might suit a German emperor, but were wholly unsuitable for conditions in Sweden. Gustavus began to rule arbitrarily and by force. He seized from the churches the greater part of their silver vessels and other valuables. There was a veritable church pillage. It was painful for the people to see the consecrated chalices, crosses, and jewels, which they had learned to reverence and hold dear, carried off as plunder. This had not been granted the king by the Riksdag of Vesterås. There soon arose a general demand for the retention of what was "old and time-honored," and the demand passed into threats, and insurrection in one province.

Grievances of the Smålanders. In the remote parts of Småland, as in Dalecarlia, there lived a stubborn and warlike race, accustomed to secure subsistence from the forests with arrow and spear. Time and

again they had defied the king's orders and killed his bailiffs. They were especially angered at the king's orders forbidding them under a heavy fine to sell their cattle at a higher price than he had fixed and forbidding them under pain of death to sell their cattle abroad. These prohibitions were the more exasperating to them as cattle were their chief articles of trade.

Nils Dacke, Leader of the Insurrection. In 1542 the discontented Smålanders found a skillful leader in Nils Dacke, who had, some time before, taken part in the slaying of bailiffs, and had in consequence been compelled to flee into the impenetrable forests on the borders of the Danish provinces in Sweden. These forests had been since early days resorts for thieves and robbers from both kingdoms. It was such reckless fellows he first gathered about him. Then he incited the peasants against the king's acts until a general uprising resulted.

This "coarse brute and forest-brood," as the king called Nils Dacke, inflicted severe losses on the king's forces. Especially threatening was the fact that the Emperor Charles V entered into relations with Dacke for the purpose of restoring his brother-in-law, Christian II, to the Swedish throne. Matters became so desperate that Gustavus is said to have thought of abandoning everything and settling down in foreign lands.

Letters of Gustavus to the Peasantry. Gustavus succeeded with soothing letters to the peasantry in adjacent provinces to prevent the spread of the insurrection.

"The peasantry demands," he writes, "*what is old and time-honored*," meaning thereby reduction of taxes

and other payments, hoping thus to secure great freedom and well-being. When the peasantry thus wish to reduce the income of the realm it will follow that the defense of the kingdom will be neglected, and the enemies will have a fair chance to possess the land again, *as has been of old*.

"We have instead taken to heart the great loss and ruin which the land has suffered in plunder, murder, and fire. And it has seemed to us advisable, as a *good new custom* to strengthen the kingdom with strong, good, able soldiers as well as by powerful and handsome war vessels, and by excellent guns and swords, horses and armor, and various accouterments of war. All of which *has not been an old custom before our time*. And we hope that we may not have deserved ingratitude for such *new customs*.

"*What advantage the country derived from the old customs we leave for you to consider*. Merchants, bringing into the country salt, hops, cloth, and other necessities, were robbed of ship and goods, and the crews thrown overboard, and drowned like dogs. As all old customs are to be counted as good, it still seems to us, as we understand it, that these customs rendered very little good. You all remember, too, how it was in West Gothland and Uppland recently in old King Christian's day, taxation by murder and fire—that, too, is an old custom. There lay many a poor man, food for beasts and birds of prey, and not even given a place in the graveyard.

"So, my dear countrymen, will we answer for our deeds not only before men, but also before God's righteous judgment."

End of the Insurrection. These words of the king had a soothing effect on the neighboring provinces. Finally the king's forces in Småland succeeded in inflicting on the insurgent army a bloody defeat. Dacke was chased from parish to parish and was at last overtaken and shot to death with arrows, 1543.

Thus ended the last bitter struggle between old and new customs. This was the most dangerous of the uprisings against Gustavus. He had been given a lesson, and henceforth was more careful. He laid aside foreign monarchical methods and returned to the old fatherly Swedish system. From this time Gustavus had peace in the kingdom.

The Vesterås Succession Act. The late insurrection, however, had shaken Gustavus Vasa's throne. Hence, at the Riksdag in Vesterås, 1544, Gustavus stressed the dangers of internal dissensions and disturbances. The election of kings had often occasioned such dissensions. Gustavus now induced the Estates to forestall such dangers for the future by adopting a Succession Act, a law that the crown should be hereditary in the male line of Gustavus Vasa's descendants according to age. This repealed the provision in Magnus Ericsson's National Law that the crown of Sweden was elective and not hereditary. By this act the king had become something more than one of the great lords of the kingdom. The Vasa family had raised itself a high step above its former equals among the nobility.

C. GUSTAVUS VASA, HIS FAMILY AND OLD AGE

His Personality. The king's nephew, Per Brahe, has given us a picture of Gustavus Vasa as he himself saw him. He was of average height; he had light golden hair, a handsome full beard, keen eyes, a small straight nose, a well-formed mouth, rosy cheeks, and his body was so well proportioned that no artist could have painted a more perfect model.

He had a wonderfully good memory. What he had heard once or twice he never forgot. Wherever he had passed once or twice or stayed a while, he never lost his way. If he had a good look at any one, he would recognize him at once though he had not seen him for ten or twenty years. He was a charming and cheerful person to meet both in small talk and serious conversation.

He loved music, both vocal and instrumental, and was himself a fine singer and player. Of all instruments he liked the lute the best, and there was no evening, when alone, that he did not play it.

His Family. Gustavus was thrice married. His first marriage, with a German princess, was not happy, as the queen was of a queer disposition. She was the mother of the nearest heir to the throne, Eric. After her death, Gustavus married Margareta Lejonhufvud, and was most happy in his family life with his "heart's dearest Margareta," as he called her. She was the mother of several children, among them the two sons, John and Charles. As a husband and father Gustavus was a model for his people, so also in his unfeigned religion and pure morals.

His Old Age. After having passed his sixtieth year, Gustavus began to feel less cheerful. His beloved lute no more gave him any joy. He often complained of feeling tired and of being unable to bear the accustomed work for his beloved country. Family cares increased his troubles. The oldest sons did not give the father the joy he might have expected. Reared in times of prosperity, Eric disregarded his father's warnings against his thoughtless and prodigal life, and behaved in a defiant and scornful manner toward his old father. It was the old story of the rich man's son. Even John, the favorite son, caused his father sorrow. It pained the aged father to see that the two sons could never bear each other. Under the burden of family troubles he wrote during his last year, "My soul is sorrowful even unto death."

His Farewell Address. When he felt his end approaching, he summoned the Estates to a meeting in Stockholm to say farewell to his people. The venerable "Father of his Country" sat on his throne with the two oldest sons at his side; the youngest, the nine-year-old Charles, stood at the father's knee. For the last time the people heard his eloquent voice, at times choked with tears. "My dear Swedish people," he said, "you now see me here in a royal palace, but we should not forget that forty years ago this seemed to mortal eye an impossibility, when I hid in forest and cranny, dressed in homespun, drank water, and lived on wretched food. But a merciful God in heaven has Himself wrought the wonder. He often uses humble means for putting down haughty, aspiring minds. He took David, a humble youth, and gave him the victory over

the mighty Goliath, and then raised the same David to royal power and glory. Thus hath God helped me, unworthy though I am, in a wonderful way to this estate.

"My dear Swedish people, whatever the government I have given you may have been, I ask you to accept it. If any good has been done it is God's work. Give Him thanks for it. But if there has been any shortcoming or fault in my government, I would fain ask you, for God's sake, to forgive me; for God is my witness that it has not happened through malice or evil intentions, but through human weakness. I have been unable to do better. My time will soon be over. For this I need consult no stars or other divination. I have the intimation in my own body that I must soon depart." In blessing he stretched forth his hands, and amidst general deep emotion he parted from his people.

His Last Will. Then was read the king's will, by which he conferred the crown of Sweden on his oldest son, and gave to his younger sons large hereditary duchies. John received southwestern Finland; to Charles he gave Södermanland, Nerke, and Vermland. That was the only way, as conditions of life were at that time, to provide in a worthy manner for younger sons. Perhaps, too, the father wished to give the kingdom a safer stay than he felt Eric alone would be. But it was dangerous to give these dukes full royal power in their duchies. In this way Sweden was in fact divided among three princes. Gustavus had evidently not forgotten the fratricidal conflicts of the Folkung Family, for he admonished his sons in an earnest and fatherly way "to love one another as brothers and live

in concord." The will was approved and confirmed by the Estates.

His Death. Shortly afterwards King Gustavus laid his weary head to rest forever, September 29, 1560.



The Cathedral of Uppsala.

"Never could anyone depart this life more quietly and peacefully," declares an eyewitness. His remains were laid to rest in the Cathedral of Uppsala.

When, once, on his deathbed, he expressed the hope that remembrance of him would not be buried with his body, he received this beautiful assurance: "In God's

pure Word, which by Your Grace's favor has come to Sweden, Your Grace's memory will live, as also in forests and plains, mountains and valleys, rivers and lakes, which no one before knew how to use rightly; and mills and fisheries, which for the perpetual good of the realm now devised and used can never be forgotten."

CHAPTER VIII

REIGNS OF THE SONS OF GUSTAVUS VASA 1560-1611

A. REIGN OF ERIC XIV, 1560-1568

Eric's Suspicious Disposition and Violence. Eric was highly gifted, and like all Gustavus Vasa's sons, he had received a careful education. He was versed in many branches of learning and spoke several languages. He enjoyed the fine arts, could paint, sing, play the lute, write and compose. Like all the sons of Gustavus he was a stately man and was the handsomest of them. But he was afflicted with a sickly temperament. This weakness he aggravated by intemperance and other vices in his association with depraved persons. In vain had his father warned him. When sober he had moments of remorse and deep anguish. He imagined that all prominent persons were traitors and wished him ill. He was continually sending out spies to ascertain what people thought of him. His suspicion of the lords was abetted by his secretary and favorite, Göran Persson, son of a clergyman of Westmanland. He was an

industrious and able man, who wished to strengthen the royal power and weaken the influence of the lords, but he was filled with an envious hatred of them, and was delighted when he could do them an injury.



Eric XIV.

Like many others of that day, Eric had a firm belief in astrology and thought that he had read in the stars that a fair-haired man was to thrust him from the throne. He brooded over this and feared his brother John and Svante Sture's oldest son Nils, both of whom had light hair. Persuaded by his secretary that the son

and two grandsons of Sten Sture the Younger and some other lords had formed a conspiracy against him, he caused these innocent men to be imprisoned in Uppsala castle. One day his suspicion drove him to madness. With his own hand he slew Nils Sture, and then ordered the other prisoners to be put to death. The victims of this order were four in number: Svante Sture, his son Sten Sture, and two other lords. This ghastly crime, committed in 1567, has been called "Sturemorden" (The Sture Murders).

His Abdication, Imprisonment, and Death. Under such a king no one could feel safe. The two broth-

ers, Charles and John, headed an insurrection which developed with unusual rapidity. After a few weeks the king held only the capital. During its siege Göran Persson was delivered by the king's own party to the dukes and was by them put to death. Finally the insurgents entered the city, and the king surrendered himself and abdicated the throne. Later the Estates passed a for-



The Castle of Gripsholm, in which John and later Eric were for a time prisoners.

mal deposition and deprived Eric of his freedom. He died in prison nine years later. It is probable that John had his brother poisoned, fearing that the prisoner might be set free.

After several attempts to form marriage alliances at foreign courts, Eric finally married Karin, or Catherine, Månsdotter, a corporal's daughter. It is said that he met her first as a maid selling nuts in the market place in Stockholm, and was charmed by her unusual beauty. The lovely Karin was as good as she was beautiful. With her, Eric's troubled heart found rest. She alone could calm his anger and turn away his evil thoughts. During his imprisonment she took every occasion to assure him of her love, and this, as he asserts in his writings, was the only comfort in his sorrow. To the nobility, this marriage was an unheard-of humiliation to Eric's royal dignity, and it became a prominent cause of his dethronement. After Eric's death, his widow received a feudal estate in Finland, where she lived until her death, in 1612, universally loved and respected for her nobility of character and many benevolences.

B. REIGN OF JOHN III, 1568–1592

John's Disposition and Extravagance. Like his brother, John was suspicious and wasteful. It is true he did not waste money and strength in dissipation. But every once in a while he would take a fancy to building magnificent palaces regardless of cost. "Building is our delight," he wrote once to a builder. When he took a notion to build, or some other enterprise tempted his

love of grandeur, he would take funds wherever they were found, even such as were appropriated for the most necessary purposes, such as payment of salaries.



John III.

In consequence, taxes rose so high that many people could not pay them and had to give up both houses and land. "Where once were fields and meadows forests are now growing, and they who for years were well-

to-do now wander through the land with staff and wallet," so reads an account of the last years of John's reign.

The Liturgical Controversy. About the middle of the sixteenth century the Reformation had prevailed over Catholicism in northern and central Europe. It began to spread even in the southern lands. The popes and the Roman clergy then began to realize that something had to be done lest they lose all control over the nations. The worst abuses were removed. This movement is known as the Catholic Counter-Reformation. The Papal Church now became aggressive in efforts to win back what she had lost. Her two formidable weapons in this conflict were the Inquisition and the Order of Jesuits.

The office of the Inquisition was to ferret out and to condemn heretics, or apostates from the Roman Church. Unhappy they who were accused before this tribunal. By the use of terrible instruments of torture confession was usually extorted. The victims were solemnly burned at the stake or doomed to die in cold, damp dungeons.

The Order of Jesuits was organized by a Spanish knight, Ignatius Loyola, who had been so severely wounded in battle that he could no longer serve in war. So he decided to win undying fame by spiritual weapons. He would win the world for the Holy Church. Hence, he gathered disciples and organized a society which he named the Society of Jesus. Its members were usually known as Jesuits. They were to go into all lands and work for the pope and his church. The

society was given a military organization. Unquestioning obedience to orders of superiors was the chief duty of all members. One of their leading doctrines was that the end justifies the means. Any act was permissible if it only had a good end in view. The murder of Protestant princes, for instance, was a pious act as it was supposed to further the cause of the Church. Thus were men's minds and consciences perverted. Jesuit monks sought admission at the court of kings and princes as councilors and as teachers and preachers.

With such weapons the Roman Church entered upon a life-and-death struggle against the Protestants. The results were soon seen. In France, during the time of Eric's reign, fierce religious wars broke out, which culminated in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572. During the festivities of a royal marriage at the court in Paris, the Catholic party planned and carried out a massacre of the Protestants in the city. Similar massacres occurred in various parts of the country. It is estimated that at least 20,000 Protestants were victims of these massacres.*

The victims of the Inquisition are numbered by untold thousands, especially in Spain and her dependency, the Netherlands. In Spain Protestantism was thus completely rooted out. In the Netherlands the Protestants were driven to a desperate fight for freedom, which finally resulted in the establishment of the Protestant Netherlands (the Dutch Republic).

John, like his father, was a lover of the beautiful.

* It should be said, however, that the motives for the massacres were no less political than religious.

He especially delighted in beautifying the churches. The splendor of the Catholic service with its beautiful music appealed to him rather than the very simple Lutheran service. He thought the Swedish people were stolid, and wished to arouse and fire their minds with a grander and more beautiful church service. Such a service was prescribed in the new church book, which he, with the aid of his secretary, had prepared and induced the Estates to adopt. The book was meant as a compromise between the Catholic and the Lutheran service. It was printed in both Swedish and Latin, for the king was anxious to have the Catholic mass restored. The manual was known as the Red Book from the color of its binding.

This step, which John had taken to approach the Catholic Church, was not his last effort. Like many other peace-loving people, he thought it a pity that Lutherans and Catholics, who worshiped the same God, should hate and condemn each other. Might not both parties return to primitive Christianity? His wife, a Polish princess, was a Catholic. She had inspired him with a strong leaning toward the Roman Church. Think if he could achieve the honor of uniting the two severed communions! When he ascended the throne he wrote to the pope about this plan, and received in deep secrecy messengers from him. The pope, however, could not sanction John's plan of uniting the Lutheran faith with the Roman Catholic. That ended John's Catholic zeal. But he still held stubbornly to his new church book, and persecuted and reviled the ministers that refused to use it. For them a place of refuge was

offered in the duchy of Duke Charles. To the king's exasperation Charles absolutely refused to accept the Catholic church customs.

C. THE REIGN OF SIGISMUND, 1592-1599

Threat of Catholic Restoration. Through her cruel methods and oppression, the Catholic Church had become a dangerous menace to all Protestant lands. The danger became imminent when John's son and successor, Sigismund, came to the throne. His mother, a Polish princess, was a Catholic, and her son had been brought up in that faith. He had already been elected king of Poland. There, he had shown energy and zeal in but one thing, the persecution of Protestants. The people of Sweden felt that an invasion of monks and insidious Jesuits was impending, and that the day might soon come when their sons and daughters might be made victims of the horrible Inquisition. They realized that an important crisis was at hand, and they took steps to prepare for the defense of their faith.

The Uppsala Convention. During the interval between the death of John and the arrival of Sigismund from Poland, the government of Sweden was conducted by Duke Charles and the council. The duke hastened to call a church convention at Uppsala in 1593. There gathered the duke and the council, large numbers of the clergy, and members of the other Estates. The Convention unanimously declared that the Bible is the sole rule of faith, and that its doctrines are correctly set forth in the three Symbols and the unaltered Augsburg Confession. Lastly all the members of the Con-

vention promised to defend their faith with their lives. Then the president of the Convention exclaimed: "Now Sweden has become one man, and we all have one Lord and one God."

The decisions of the Convention were sent out in copies to all the provinces and were signed by all orders of society. The duke desired that the whole people should take part in this matter. No one should be indifferent or unconcerned about the weal and woe of the realm. Thus Sweden was prepared to receive the new king.



King Sigismund.

Sigismund's Coronation. In the autumn of the same year Sigismund came to Sweden to be crowned. He was surrounded with Catholic priests and Jesuits, who hoped to gain control of the Swedish people. The Estates, assembled for the coronation, feared that Sigismund would resort to force to restore the Catholic faith. But Duke Charles assured them that there would be no coronation unless Sigismund would first by oath promise to maintain the decision of the Uppsala Convention. Sigismund was compelled to yield. He solemnly took the oath, and was then crowned. But the day before he had secretly assured the Jesuits that he would introduce Catholic service into Sweden as soon as he

had secured the power. To this double-dealing the Jesuits had given their sanction and advice. They had assured him that promises to heretics were not binding. As a perjurer Sigismund returned to Poland.

Government during Sigismund's Absence. Sigismund had left the government in the hands of the duke and the council. Hitherto these had stood together. But the unanimity did not last long. The duke was a man for the commons, and would not "pull even" with the great lords.

The Power of the Lords. The Swedish lords had lost their leaders in the Stockholm Massacre and by the Vesterås Succession Act. But during the times of Eric and John they had increased in power again. At his coronation, which he celebrated with unexampled splendor, Eric increased the pomp by elevating the chief nobles to the dignity of counts and barons. By this means he would for the future shed luster on his court. The lords were still more favored by John. Among other favors he bestowed on the counts and barons large feudal estates, known as counties and baronies, which were made hereditary in the male line of descent. The nobility had thus secured powerful leaders in these "kings, each in his domain," as Duke Charles called these great lords. And they were the very ones who sat in the council.

Duke and Estates versus King and Council. Soon the council began to oppose the duke, but in turn he received support from the Estates, especially from the burghers and the peasants. Most of the councilmen then fled to Sigismund in Poland, hoping that he would with military force crush the proud duke and the ar-

rogant commons in Sweden. Thus were arrayed the Duke and the Estates against the King and the Council.

In the year 1598 Sigismund came back to Sweden, now at the head of an army. But at Stångebro, near Linköping, the duke and his followers gained a signal victory over the king, who was compelled by the duke to deliver up to him the councilmen who had accompanied him from Poland. Sigismund himself returned to his Polish kingdom and never again saw his native land.

Sigismund's Deposition and the Linköping Massacre. The following year, at a Riksdag in Stockholm, Sigismund was formally deposed as king of Sweden. In Poland he kept up a weak reign to the end of his life in 1632.

At another Riksdag in Linköping, in 1600, a special court of justice was appointed to judge the councilmen whom Sigismund had delivered to Duke Charles. They were accused of having advised the king to lead a foreign army against their country. Some confessed their guilt and were pardoned. Others could not be induced to admit that they had done wrong. They claimed to have obeyed their lawful king. They seemed to have overlooked the fact that Sigismund had broken his coronation oath and, hence, had forfeited his claim of obedience. The accused were condemned to death. Their wives and children often waited outside the castle gate when the duke drove out, and on their knees and with tears begged for mercy for husbands and fathers. But he drove by, feigning not to see them. The death sen-

tences were carried out. This event has been called the Linköping Massacre (Linköpings Blodbad).

Many of Sigismund's partisans were imprisoned, others went into exile to Poland.

D. REGENCY AND REIGN OF CHARLES IX, 1599–1611

Development of Mining and the Iron Industry. In time Duke Charles assumed the royal title and was then known as Charles IX.

His reign differed very much from that of Eric and John. Like his father, he felt it his duty as king to work for the development of his country. Like his father, too, he wanted to have a hand in everything, and to set right what was wrong. This work he had already begun as regent. He devoted himself especially to mining and the iron industry in Verm-



Charles IX.

land. He was zealous in encouraging prospecting for new mines. All who would build smelting furnaces were given years of exemption from taxes. He was the real creator of Vermland's mining industry. For him were named Karlstad and the Karlskoga mining district. Thus there arose a flourishing region where there had formerly been miles of lake and river shores.

He brought in skilled workmen from abroad, who introduced improved methods in the mines and at the smelters. He often visited the mining districts and took a lively interest in the work. He visited the workmen in their homes and conversed with them as an equal. Hence, he was highly esteemed by the miners and iron workers.

Land Improvements. In his work of bringing waste lands in the north under cultivation, Charles was greatly aided by Finns, who had immigrated in large numbers into Sweden. In their own land they often suffered want and were oppressed by cruel bailiffs and governors. These immigrant Finns settled down in the northern forests near some lake affording good fishing. There they built their cabins and lived by hunting and fishing, clearing the forests and breaking the soil for planting. Thus by hard labor the Finns secured their plots of ground, planted them with rye, and later, when the soil was too exhausted for grain, it furnished fine pasture for their cattle.

His Administration. His methods of administration he inherited from his father. In the handling of the nation's finances "Economy" was his motto. To his bailiffs he was an even sterner master than Gustavus had been. In one instance they had collected extra taxes from the peasants and pocketed the money, in another they had accepted bribes from criminals. "Thievish lot" was the uncomplimentary name Charles often gave to his bailiffs. "We will hold them to account till they are caught in the gallows," he declared. It is said that it was not a rare sight to see a bailiff hanged in the gallows of his own district. Everybody that did not

suit the king was made to feel the sting of his hasty temper. He would at times inflict corporal punishment even on men of note. He never learned self-control. But when his outburst of anger was over, everything was pleasant again.

His Administration of Justice. Charles was especially devoted to the administration of justice. Many anecdotes bear testimony to this fact. A poor widow had suffered a wrong and had appealed in vain to the court. She then went to the king to plead her cause. He read all the papers in the case and found that her cause was just. He then wrote on the back of the batch of papers to the judges: "Unless you secure justice for this poor widow be assured that my cane shall dance a polka on your backs."

There are not many princes that the commons have so highly admired as Charles IX. Every peasant felt assured that he had protection in his king. The nobles called him the Peasant King. But the miners and peasants called him "Store Karl" (Great Charles), and it is said that "while the bells tolled the knell of 'Store Karl' both old and young wept, and it seemed as if everything were empty and dead throughout the land."

E. WARS WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES DURING THE PERIOD

Wars with Poland. At the close of the Crusades there were organized in various European lands orders of knighthood for the special purpose of defending Christian lands against pagan inroads. One of these was the Order of Teutonic Knights, which since the time of the Crusades had held Esthonia, Livonia, and

other Baltic lands. Many an exploit had these knights performed in their conflict with the heathen peoples. But when these conflicts ceased, the zeal and ardor of the knights relaxed. They now thought only of pleasure and lived dissolute lives. About the middle of the sixteenth century wild Russian forces invaded the country. There was now no power of resistance left. Some of these lands sought help from Poland and others from Sweden. Esthonia, whose capital, Reval, was Protestant, placed herself under Sweden in 1561, for her people feared both the Greek Orthodox Russians and the Roman Catholic Poles. But the Polish king, who took Livonia, sought to drive the Swedes from Esthonia. Thus began a war between Sweden and Poland, which, though interrupted by several peace treaties and truces, was to continue for a hundred years. The first war ended with Sweden in possession of Esthonia. But the efforts of Charles IX to conquer Livonia failed.

Wars with Russia. The Russians, too, threatened the Swedish possessions along the eastern shores of the Baltic. During John's reign their wild hordes invaded Esthonia and ravaged the country. The Swedish garrison in one of the fortresses was captured, and the men were bound and roasted to death. But the Swedes soon gained the upper hand.

A new war having broken out in the time of Charles IX, the brave Jacob de la Gardie led his troops all the way to Moscow. But a mutiny arose among his men, most of whom were of foreign enlistment. With a band of 400 loyal men marching across the immense wastes of Russia, he succeeded in reaching his home in

safety. He returned, however, with a new force and had made vast conquests when Charles IX passed away.

Wars with Denmark. Gustavus Vasa had liberated Sweden from the fetters of the Union. But Denmark had, in the person of Frederick II, an ambitious king, who hoped to force Sweden once more under the power of Denmark. Besides, the proud Danish nobility could not bear the thought that their country was not the sole power in the North. In 1563 the so-called Northern Seven Years' War broke out. Denmark was supported by Lübeck. The importance of Gustavus Vasa's naval preparations now became apparent. Never before nor since were such naval victories won by Sweden as now. Under the command of Sweden's greatest naval hero, Klas Horn, the Swedish fleet won a complete victory over the combined fleets of Denmark and Lübeck off Bornholm, 1565. The hostile fleets were finally driven from the Baltic. By these victories Horn protected Swedish commerce and prevented ravages of the Swedish coasts.

By land the hostile forces vied with each other in brutal ravages and bloodshed. When both parties were exhausted peace was concluded in Stettin, 1570. There was a mutual restoration of land captured. In its results this war was most unfortunate for the Scandinavian peoples. The mutual ravages engendered a hatred between them which did not exist before. Hitherto it had been only the Danish kings and their German and Danish bailiffs that had been abhorred in Sweden. But now a national hatred was kindled between the two

peoples, which was to be a long continued misfortune to both of them.

In the reign of Charles IX, the throne of Denmark was again occupied by a young and ambitious prince, Christian IV, who determined to subdue all Sweden, or at least to cripple it so that Denmark would never again have to fear her neighbor.

When the war began, Charles IX was old and broken down. His eldest son, the sixteen-year-old Gustavus Adolphus, became the father's prop in the war. He had to conduct it alone when, in the autumn of 1611, Charles IX closed his arduous life.

It was a difficult inheritance that Charles left to his son. The country was involved in war with three powers. At the thought of this situation Charles was often troubled in spirit. But his look brightened when it fell upon the promising young prince. He saw in him the one who was to finish what he had not had time to do. "Ille faciet" (he will do it), he would say, as he stroked the blonde locks of his son. Charles may well be said to have been a strict and stern ruler. But his people followed him willingly, for he was the man needed for those stormy times.

CHAPTER IX

REIGN OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, 1611-1632

A. INTRODUCTION

His Early Problems were a war with Russia, one with Denmark, which was still stronger than Sweden, and a threatened war with Poland, then one of Europe's most extensive kingdoms. The country thus confronted was exhausted by domestic and foreign conflicts and ruled by a youth scarce seventeen years of age.

His Training and Attainments. But the youth had matured and toughened through plain and simple living. One did not learn effeminacy at a court where the king forbade the court people to bone the herring, and where the queen is said to have measured out the thread to the court ladies. When Gustavus was six years old, his father took him in midwinter on a journey around the Gulf of Bothnia and through Finland. It has been said that Charles IX, like the eagle, "early drove the young out of the nest to learn to fly."

At the age of thirteen Gustavus Adolphus was intrusted with receiving ambassadors from other lands, and surprised them not a little when he conversed with them in their own language, or at least showed them that he understood it, no matter what country in Europe they came from. Latin, which was still the language of culture, he learned to speak and write fluently at an early age. More and more he assisted his father in the affairs of state. In the Danish war he took his first lesson as a commander.

His Relation to His People. Sweden could not have met so successfully the dangerous wars at the opening of the reign had not the people had the fullest confi-



Gustavus II Adolphus.

dence in their young king. He at once showed power and ability in no way inferior to his father's and grandfather's. At the same time he won all hearts by his kindness. After the stern times of domestic strife, he came with conciliation. Hence, he could soon count

among his devoted supporters the sons and kinsmen of the nobles his father had executed. There was no longer any danger of civil war. Never before had there been such unity and harmony in the kingdom. All classes of society loved their young king and willingly complied with his exhortation to labor and sacrifice for their beloved country.

B. THE EARLY WARS

The Danish War. Wild border wars with fire and sword, but no considerable battles, such was still the warfare between the Scandinavian lands. The Danes captured Kalmar and Elfsborg, the keys of the kingdom. The interior of the country, between these two strongholds, now lay defenseless. From Elfsborg in the west and Kalmar in the east, Danish armies advanced into the interior. They planned to meet in the heart of Sweden and there direct the death thrust against the independence of the country.

Through dark and dreary forests the Danish armies moved. When out of the forests the invading armies reached a community where they expected to find food, they found the houses burned and all food supplies destroyed. This was the work of the Swedish people themselves, who blocked the roads, built obstructions, tore down bridges, and took every opportunity to worry the enemy on all sides. Gustavus Adolphus had summoned all his people to arms and by his example encouraged them to fight and sacrifice. A war of such hardships was more than Christian's soldiers could endure. They threatened mutiny. The two Danish armies were forced to retreat.

Both parties now desired peace. It was concluded in Knäred in 1613. Sweden was to pay a sum equal to a million dollars in our money as a ransom for Elfsborg and surrounding territory, which the Danes still held, and which they were to keep if the ransom was not paid in six years.

The Elfsborg ransom weighed heavily on the impoverished people of Sweden. What such a sum meant at a time when the kingdom had only one-fifth of its present population can easily be imagined, and when one considers that money had then at least ten times the purchasing power that it has today. Money was scarce; no banks were found with accumulated funds to appeal to. The Danes did not believe that the ransom could be collected in the impoverished land. But the money must be secured. It concerned Sweden's only port on the west coast. Both high and low had to bear heavy burdens of taxation. When the last coin was paid the king's own table silver had been converted into coin.

The War with Russia. In this war the Swedes met with signal successes under the command of Jacob De la Gardie and Gustavus Adolphus. The Russians were finally forced to conclude peace at Stolbova, a village immediately south of Lake Ladoga, in 1617. By this treaty the Russians ceded Ingria and Eastern Carelia, thus abandoning their access to the Baltic. By these acquisitions Sweden's possessions became a contiguous territory, which was a matter of great importance, especially during seasons of the year when communication with Sweden across the Baltic was interrupted.

At a Riksdag assembled shortly after the peace, the king expressed his gratification over the fact that the

Russians were now separated from Sweden by seas, morasses, and rivers. "Now," he added, "Finland is separated from Russia by the great Ladoga Lake; and I hope to God that it shall henceforth be difficult for the Russians to jump across that brook."

The War with Poland. The danger from Denmark and Russia had been happily removed. But Gustavus Adolphus had his account with Sigismund still unsettled. Poland and other Catholic countries regarded Gustavus as a usurper of the Swedish throne, and a traitor to his lawful sovereign, King Sigismund of Poland. Hence, they refused to recognize him as king of Sweden. At any time Sigismund might renew his efforts to seize the Swedish throne. What might be expected should he succeed in such efforts could be seen in the persecution of Polish Protestants, which his Jesuit advisers had induced him to institute.

Poland was not an insignificant enemy. It was still the greatest power in eastern Europe. Its boundaries extended toward the Danube and the lower Dnieper and eastward to the vicinity of Moscow. Its nobility were renowned for their valor. Besides, Poland could expect aid from the two great Catholic powers, Austria and Spain. In addition to religious ties Sigismund was connected by marriage with the House of Austria.

Gustavus Adolphus thought it best not to await the attack within the boundaries of Sweden, but took the offensive in 1621, in Livonia, by besieging Riga. This great commercial city was strongly fortified with walls, towers, and dikes. The Swedes threw up intrenchments. Cannon boomed from both sides. Mortars belched forth glowing balls and heavy stones. Towers

began to tumble. The Swedes pressed forward under cover of sheds and trenches. The king himself with spade in hand worked in the trenches amidst the leaden showers.

Finally after a month's siege everything was ready for the storming of the city. The king had ordered that at a given signal the whole army was to rush forward, some with scaling-ladders, others with bundles of twigs, the latter the soldiers were to hold in front of them as shields and then throw them by the city wall to form a way over the wall. The city capitulated to avoid the horrors of a capture. By further achievements Gustavus Adolphus made himself master of all Livonia.

Later, 1626, Gustavus moved the scenes of war to West Prussia, which at that time belonged to Poland. Prussia was a prosperous country. Its rivers, Vistula, Pregel, and Niemen, were the great thoroughfares for the inland commerce of Poland. Could the Swedes secure control of their port cities, "the Polish nation would be seized by the throat," as Axel Oxenstiern expressed it, and there would be nothing for her to do but submit to a peace. Gustavus soon made himself master of the country. The Polish forces coming to aid in the defense were easily defeated, even when reinforced by Austrian troops.

Gustavus was often exposed to perilous adventures. Once when engaged in the thickest of the fight, he was surrounded by a number of the enemy, who already regarded him as their prisoner. A Swedish horseman seeing the situation rushed up to him and handed him a loaded pistol, saying, "Here, Comrade." The king

quickly pressed the trigger, and one would-be captor fell dead; with the butt-end of the pistol he struck another, and he fell into a swoon; a third one seized the king's sword-belt to drag him off. But Gustavus quickly slipped the belt over his head, and the prize gained was only the belt and the king's hat. Again an enemy caught the king's arm and raised his saber to deal a deathblow, when, in the nick of time one of the king's men felled him by a well-aimed shot. "Never have I been in a hotter bath," declared Gustavus.

Finally after the Swedes had held the Prussian ports for three years, the Poles could hold out no longer. In 1629 they concluded a truce of six years. Sweden kept Livonia and the right to the rich duties at the Prussian ports from Courland to Danzig. These revenues were very much needed, for a new war was at hand, a greater war than any that Sweden had ever before engaged in.

C. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AND THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

Origin and Early History of the War. While Gustavus Adolphus was engaged in the Polish War, Germany was being torn asunder by a religious war, which was destined to last for thirty years. It began in 1618, with an insurrection of the Protestants in Bohemia against their Catholic king, who was ruler of the Austrian crown lands, because he would deprive them of the rights of their religion.

The insurrection soon spread to Germany over which the ruler of the Austrian lands was Emperor. Germany was then composed of many larger and smaller states with their princes and magistrates under the

Emperor. Some were Catholics and others Protestants. The two parties had long been hostile to each other.

Wallenstein and His Plans. The Emperor, Ferdinand II, authorized the Bohemian nobleman, Albert von Wallenstein, to raise an army. Large masses of adventurers from all parts of Europe flocked to his standard in the hope of plunder. These rough soldiers feared their commander as a supernatural being. With his boundless ambition, lone and mysterious, he moved among his soldiers. He fancied he could read his destiny in the stars. On this alone he relied. It was his religion.

No one could check the victorious Catholics. Christian IV of Denmark, who came to the aid of the Protestants, was thoroughly defeated and forced to agree to take no further part in the war. Wallenstein's forces spread out over Jutland and the German coasts of the Baltic. The great commander fairly reveled in his vast plans, one of which was to build a great fleet in the Baltic and make the Emperor master of the northern seas. Emperor Ferdinand had already appointed him "Admiral of the Baltic and the Ocean."

Sweden's Independence Threatened. Sweden was thus directly threatened, for what would be her fate if the Emperor should become lord of the Baltic? What would happen to her Protestant faith if Protestantism were suppressed in the neighboring states? The Emperor plainly indicated his intention regarding Sweden and Protestantism by sending troops at this time, 1629, to aid Sigismund against Gustavus Adolphus, and another army to aid Spain against the Protestant Netherlands. Gustavus Adolphus could not remain inactive

when such dangers threatened. "It is an old woman's solace to moan and suffer; one should by wise means remedy and remove the evil," he declared. But could he prevail upon his people to engage in this dangerous war?

Ever since Gustavus Vasa passed away, the years of peace had been few in Sweden. Hence, among all the people there was a deep longing for the blessings of peace. But should one purchase it by sacrificing future freedom, and suffer brethren in the faith to perish? No, rather, then, put forth all the powers of the state. No one should under such circumstances think of his own interests and comforts.

The Swedes were, in the language of old Gustavus Vasa, "a determined people and devoted to great enterprises." The Estates agreed to the war and assumed the burdens of many new taxes. The nobility set a good example to the other Estates by giving up their exemptions. By the side of the heavy money taxes were the "blood taxes"; conscriptions, almost annual, took the flower of the youth of the land. The method of conscription was as follows: All men fit for service in each district were called together and divided into groups of ten. In each group one, the fittest, was selected. As a rule such were selected as could best be spared at home.

Gustavus Adolphus' Farewell to His People. In the spring of 1630 when the fleet lay at Elfsnabben, near Stockholm, ready to sail away to Germany with the Swedish regiments, Gustavus Adolphus bade farewell to the Estates assembled in Stockholm. Most of them had on other occasions heard the king speak to his

people. Nearly every year a Riksdag had been held, for Gustavus Adolphus wished to consult with his Estates in all matters of importance.

Solemn and touching was the moment when Gustavus Adolphus for the last time addressed his Riksdag. He held in his arms his little daughter Christina, now in her fourth year. He called God to witness that he entered upon this war, not for love of adventure or of war, but to save the Swedish people and their brethren in the faith. "And as usually happens," he said with a strange foreboding, "the pitcher is carried to the well till it finally breaks, so it may also go with me. After having in many dangers for my country's welfare shed my blood, though hitherto by God's gracious protection my life has been spared, yet finally I may have to yield it. Therefore, I would commend you all to God's gracious care, and pray that after this toilsome life we may meet together in the heavenly and eternal life." All eyes were suffused with tears. No one knew what the future might bear in its bosom.

Gustavus Adolphus in Northern Germany. At midsummer time, 1630, the Swedish fleet anchored at Usedom. Having landed on German soil, Gustavus Adolphus knelt and invoked the blessing of God upon his undertaking.

The king at once secured the mouth of the Oder, for it was along its banks he intended to advance into Germany. Ever since the peace of Stolbova he had controlled the Neva. The capture of Riga had made him master of the Düna, and the truce with Poland gave him the possession of the mouths of the Niemen, the Pregel, and the Vistula. Now it concerned the next

Baltic river, the Oder. The river courses were the best means of transportation.

The people of Pomerania received the Swedish troops and their king as liberators. How different was he from the princes and commanders they had seen before! Stately and majestic he was, but gentle and unaffected. He spoke kindly and in their own tongue to the people who had collected to meet their fellow believers from the other side of the sea. "Ein sanfter, leutseliger Herr," it was said of him. His true northern appearance—the clear, ruddy complexion, the blue eyes, the golden hair and beard—was unusual to the Germans, and led them to call him the "Gold King of the North." Surprised, too, were the Germans at the discipline and the fine spirit that prevailed in the Swedish army.

Gustavus Adolphus' Articles of War. The good order and fine spirit prevailing in the army of Gustavus Adolphus may be learned from his Articles of War, in which among other things are the following:

"The taking of the Name of God in vain by swearing or cursing is forbidden." The punishment might be bodily pains or increased duties.

"In order to instill the fear of God in the hearts of the soldiers there shall be morning and evening worship conducted in the camp of all the soldiers.

"No loose women shall be tolerated in the camp. Married women may accompany their husbands if they so wish.

"Whoever robs or steals cattle or the like in friendly lands, or from those who bring supplies to the camp, or from the enemy without permission, shall be pun-

ished as for other robbery or theft. No soldier may plunder any church or hospital even though the city may have been taken by storm. No one may use force against ministers, old men, women, or children.

"Should anyone drink himself drunk with ale or wine found in the enemy's camp or in any city before the enemy is fully driven out, he may with impunity be slain by anyone finding him."

In his own life the king set the example of simple habits, morality, and godliness. The immoderate drinking bouts, then common even at courts, Gustavus detested. It was said of him, "He was a God-fearing man in all his deeds to the day of his death."

Gustavus Adolphus' Success in Pomerania. Gustavus Adolphus soon drove out the division of the imperial army then in Pomerania, and thus secured military control of the duchy. It likewise gave him control of the traffic on the Oder. He was further cheered by the report that Wallenstein had been dismissed from service. His wild hordes had ravaged the lands of friends and foes alike. His ambitious plans, too, were equally threatening to all German princes, whether Catholics or Protestants. The German princes, therefore, demanded unanimously that the Emperor should discharge the dreaded commander, or they would not support him against Sweden and other enemies. Ferdinand was compelled to comply with their wishes, and Wallenstein was dismissed.

The Siege and Capture of Magdeburg. All the Catholic forces were now placed under the command of the old and tried Tilly, who could boast that he had never

lost a battle. He now laid siege to Magdeburg, the most important city in northern Germany and the firm bulwark of Protestantism in the days of persecution. The city had entered into an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus. From the few defenders of the city there now came to him message after message imploring his aid.

Magdeburg was a free city of the empire. It was not subject to any local prince, but recognized the immediate suzerainty of the Emperor. The road to Magdeburg led through Saxony, a Protestant country, whose ruler, the Elector John George, was also a Protestant. And yet he was indifferent to the closing in of the Catholic forces around Magdeburg. He even refused Gustavus Adolphus a passage through his territory to relieve the city. Hitherto John George had succeeded in saving his own skin by keeping on good terms with the Emperor and betraying his persecuted fellow believers. He hoped to be able to continue pursuing the same course. The remaining Protestant princes of any power in Germany were about equally efficient. How would it have fared with the Protestants if Gustavus Adolphus had not come to the rescue?

For Magdeburg there was no help. Gustavus Adolphus could not force his passage through Saxony, for the elector's army was equal to his own in numbers. Besides a fight between Protestants could not be thought of. It would have destroyed all hope for the Protestant cause. And so Magdeburg was stormed by Tilly's wild hordes. Then followed scenes of pillage, murder, and ravishment too horrible to describe. A fire broke out and reduced the wealthy city to a heap

of ruins. Tilly himself wept over the fate of the city (May, 1631).

The Battle of Breitenfeld, Sept. 7, 1631. After the fall of Magdeburg came the decisive moment for John George. Tilly demanded that he unite his troops with the imperial army and contribute to the support of these forces. When the elector refused, Tilly led his greedy hordes into the prosperous fields and villages of Saxony. Now John George had no other recourse than to entreat Gustavus Adolphus for help. The two leaders formed an alliance, united their forces, and marched against Tilly at Breitenfeld, near Leipsic.

There Tilly took up a favorable position at the top of a long, sloping plain. Gustavus Adolphus marshaled his troops on the plain below. The September sun shone bright over the plain where the fate of millions yet unborn was that day to be decided. Gustavus himself commanded the right wing; Gustav Horn, whom the king called his "right hand," commanded the left. Lennart Torstensson with the artillery was placed before the center. The Saxon troops, in a body, joined themselves to the left wing of the Swedish army, in new and splendid uniforms and shining armor with all possible finery. Grand, too, was the appearance of Tilly's regiments. They were made up of well-trained and seasoned warriors, overbearing through constant victories. A Swedish eyewitness writes: "Torn, worn, soiled, our men appeared as against the glittering, gilded, plumed imperialists." But they were men well-disciplined in many a hard fight in the Russian and Polish wars. And in this army dwelt the trust in God expressed in the hymn:

"Be not dismayed, thou little flock,
Although the foe's fierce battle shock
Loud on all sides assail thee,
Though o'er thy fall they laugh secure,
Their triumph can not long endure,
Let not thy courage fail thee."

Two methods of warfare were to be tested out that day. Tilly's army was formed in immense squares up to fifty ranks—heavy masses, whose attacks hitherto had always crushed the opponents. Their muskets were heavy and had to be supported, when fired, by stays, which the gunner carried with him. They were fired with a slow-match, and required for loading and firing not less than ninety-nine hand movements. The chief weapons for the imperial infantry were not the muskets, but immense pikes, neary twenty feet long. The artillery was composed of large siege cannons, requiring up to fourteen pairs of horses to drag them to their places.

Gustavus' army, on the other hand, was composed of small, flexible divisions, in which the musketeers composed the greater part of the infantry. Their muskets were light, needed no support, and were provided with flint locks. Hence, with them, three shots could be fired to the enemy's one. The Swedish cannons had the same advantage in speed. They were light, could be drawn by one or two horses. These innovations were Gustavus Adolphus' own inventions and were to revolutionize the art of war for the future.

When everything was ready, the king held in his horse in front of the battle line, bared his head, and raised his voice in prayer to the Most High for His

protection: "From distant land, from peaceful homes have we come hither to fight for freedom, for truth, and for Thy Gospel. Grant us victory for Thy Holy Name's sake. Amen."

The decisive fight began with an attack on the Swedish right wing by Pappenheim's cavalry. But before the imperial cavalry could fire their first volley they were received with so murderous a fire that their horses shied and turned around. Pappenheim then made a circuitous movement to attack the Swedes in the flank and rear. But Gustavus saw his intention and gave orders to John Banér to form a new line at right angles to the first. This was effected. A life-and-death struggle then followed. Seven times Pappenheim's wing cut in on the Swedes, but though twice as strong, he was driven back each time. The enemy's left wing (under Pappenheim) then disappeared in wild flight.

At the sight of the bitter struggle of his left wing Tilly had advanced with the rest of his army against the Saxons. The fine warriors held out against the first volley, but at the second they "scattered like chaff over the field," to use Tilly's words. The elector led his men in the flight.

In the meantime the Swedish left and center had fought a desperate battle against superior numbers. By the Saxons' flight the Swedish left was exposed. But calm and collected, Gustavus Horn performed the same masterly maneuver on the left wing that Jöhn Banér had done on the right. With unruffled tenacity his scanty forces received the violent attacks of the enemy. But they were too few. Whole ranks fell, each

man at his post. Suddenly the enemies checked themselves. What had happened? Gustavus Adolphus with his victorious right wing had swept up the hill, taken Tilly's cannons, and directed them against Tilly's own battalions. Tilly's forces then dispersed in flight. In vain he attempted to check them. He begged, he threatened, he wept in anger. But his men obeyed him not. Only his faithful veterans remained true. Crippled and wounded, they fought each in his appointed place. They formed a square around their old commander and withdrew in orderly retreat.

The best results of this victory were the overthrow of the Catholic supremacy and the preservation of the Protestant faith. Hence, Breitenfeld is one of the world's decisive battles. The small Swedish nation, which ever since the Viking Age had lived its own life, almost unknown beyond the Baltic lands, became through this victory world famous. Now were gathered the fruits of the seeds planted by Gustavus Vasa and Olavus Petri and developed under the care of Charles IX, Gustavus Adolphus, and Axel Oxenstiern. Sweden's Period of Greatness begins.

Gustavus Adolphus in South Germany. The victory at Breitenfeld made Gustavus Adolphus master of the line of the Elbe. Now his march concerned Germany's most important river, the Rhine, where he wished to liberate the millions of South German Protestants, who had endured the severest persecutions, and who were now looking for deliverance. He led his army from Saxony down into the smiling valley of the Main, to wealthy South Germany with knightly castles on vine-clad hills, rich convents, and mighty cities. He came

as the liberator of the oppressed. But the Catholics feared that he would come as the avenger of all that his fellow Protestants had suffered. Stricken with fear, they fled in masses. But Gustavus Adolphus disturbed no one in his worship. He would not have Protestants and Catholics oppress each other. Religious freedom was his noble aim. But the immense wealth of ecclesiastical princes, convents, and churches became his booty.

Gustavus followed the Main to its confluence with the Rhine, and took up his winter quarters in Mainz. Here gathered around the victorious "Gold King from the North" a brilliant throng of German princes and ambassadors from all lands. Never has a Swedish king been more esteemed and honored. Under his command there was now a force of 100,000 men under different commanders in various parts of Germany. Only one-fifth of this army were Swedes. Thus had his army increased by additions of German Protestants.

Death of Tilly. Recall of Wallenstein. In the battle of the Lech (April, 1632), in South Germany, Tilly was mortally wounded and died two weeks later. By great concessions the Emperor then induced Wallenstein to resume the command. Scarcely had he issued his call for volunteers before an immense army gathered around him. His reappearance on the scene necessitated a complete change in the plans of Gustavus Adolphus. He had apparently planned to advance along the Danube to Vienna and there in the hereditary lands of the Emperor compel him to make peace. But now Gustavus must prepare to defend central and

northern Germany against Wallenstein. He was forced to withdraw from the line of the Danube.

The Battle of Lützen. In the late autumn of 1632, Gustavus Adolphus received the alarming news that Wallenstein was ravaging Saxony with a view to compelling the elector to break his alliance with the Swedish king. At the report of this danger Gustavus Adolphus hastened northward toward Saxony in forced marches. Wallenstein's army lay near the little town of Lützen. Thither now marched the Swedish army over plowed fields, where the mud clung to the soldiers' feet and the horses' hoofs sank deep in the soft earth.

On the morning of November 6, a thick mist spread over the plains of Lützen, preventing an early engagement. The soldiers were arranged for battle, but could scarcely distinguish their nearest companions. While waiting, the king struck up the hymn, "Be not dismayed, thou little flock." The soldiers joined in as the tones reached them until the soul-stirring sounds from thousands of throats reverberated over the plain. At last the mists scattered and the autumn sun burst forth. The king then drew his sword, folded his hands about the hilt, and prayed: "Jesus, help me today to fight for the glory of Thy Name." He waved the sword above his head and ordered, "Forward."

In the midst of the battle the mists again shrouded the battlefield. The sections could no longer hold together, and the battle resolved itself into a fierce hand-to-hand conflict. Swords whizzed and muskets flashed. The king was carried along into the confusion, separated from his men. He was seen to reel and fall from the saddle; a bullet had struck his back. One of his

attendants tried to help him onto another horse. But according to reports, the king was then surrounded by enemy troopers, who asked who the wounded man was, and when Gustavus answered, "I am the king of Sweden," one of them fired a shot through his head.

The Swedish forces had been driven back. But when they saw the king's horse, bloodstained and with an empty saddle, running wildly, a terrible foreboding seized them all: "The king has fallen," they all burned with a desire to rush forward and avenge his death. Their center was largely cut down, yet Wallenstein was put to rout. The Swedes were masters of the field, but darkness prevented a pursuit. The victory was thus not quite complete, for the victors could not scatter and cut down the enemy. And the death of the great king was an irreparable loss.

An Estimate of Gustavus Adolphus. Fallen was Sweden's greatest king, fallen the greatest son of the North. As a statesman he had the gift of genius to survey the world and to judge of the proper time to act. The world's greatest military genius, Napoleon I, reckoned Gustavus Adolphus as one of the greatest commanders of all time, and as one who had transformed the art of war. But that is not all. There was something out of the ordinary in everything that he did. His chief greatness lies in the fact that he devoted his genius to a great and noble end: to secure religious freedom to a people oppressed and threatened with its loss. His warm human sympathy, his strong and noble will equaled his keen, penetrating intellect. His warm patriotism he showed in his deeds and expressed in words to Axel Oxenstiern: "The majesty of the state

and the Church of God within it are well worthy of the sacrifice of comfort and even of life."

Among German Protestants he is still cherished in grateful remembrance, as is shown by the many "Gustavus Adolphus" societies organized by them for the support of scattered Lutheran congregations in lands of other faiths. Some of Germany's foremost historians regard Gustavus Adolphus as the saviour not only of German Protestantism, but even of German nationality, whose existence was threatened by Spanish Jesuits and by unpatriotic leaders of mercenary armies.

D. DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT UNDER GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

The Administration of Justice. Even in his works of peace Gustavus Adolphus had to carry on a campaign against both the indolence and the lethargy of the people and against the dishonesty and oppression of the bailiffs and other officers. Everywhere in his government there was a system and an order as never before. For the proper administration of justice he established a supreme court of appeal in Stockholm for Sweden proper, another in Åbo for Finland, and later, after Gustavus' death, another was established in Jönköping for the southern provinces (Götaland). To his judges he gave strict orders to administer justice without fear or favor.

Development of Commerce. In his untiring journeys through the country, Gustavus had learned to know his people and their wants. That Sweden was a poor country he had experienced in all his great undertak-

ings. But why might not Sweden become wealthy like other lands? Could it not build up a flourishing commerce and thriving industries? But to do this he would have to renew his grandfather's work for trade and navigation. At the time of his accession the Swedish cities lay idle, decayed, and in ruins, as he himself says. The constant wars and the misrule of John III had destroyed the work of Gustavus Vasa. All foreign trade was now in the hands of foreigners, who carried away raw materials and brought them back as manufactured products at greatly increased prices. This evil the king sought to remedy. He tried to stir up the enterprise of cities by granting them special privileges. Many new cities were founded. Gothenburg, which had been destroyed by the Danes in the recent war, was rebuilt, nearer the sea, in its present location. Foreigners were permitted to sell their goods in certain cities only and for a limited time each year, and only in wholesale quantities.

To encourage Swedish foreign trade men of means were induced to make investments in trading companies. Such corporations were the Copper Company, which had the monopoly of exporting the country's copper output, the most important Swedish export; and the South Sea Company, Sweden's first attempt to engage in trade with lands beyond the sea. These plans of Gustavus Adolphus filled the Dutch, the foremost commercial nation of that day, with fear and jealousy. But they could soon draw a sigh of relief. There was a dearth of capital in Sweden, and those who had money would rather spend it for luxuries than for the country's benefit.

The Mining Industry. In his efforts to build up the mining industry Gustavus Adolphus followed his father's plan. Here, too, capital was needed. This was secured by inviting a wealthy Hollander, Louis De Geer, who employed his means in the founding of iron works in Finspong and about the Dannemora mines. He filled also another want, that of skillful miners and iron workers, by inducing a number of them to immigrate to Sweden from the part of the Netherlands now known as Belgium.

Soon there appeared in the former wilds busy activities that furnished bread and prosperity to thousands. Ore was mined in masses as never before. Blast furnaces and forges blazed and sizzled, forge hammers boomed, smoke from the charring-stacks filled the forests, waterfalls furnished power for mills, forges, and shops of many sorts. The example set by these imported workmen and the many new enterprises stirred up the Swedes, and thus encouraged even other industries.

The Falun Copper Mine had its most flourishing period about the middle of the seventeenth century. A marvelous work has been performed in the recesses of that mine during the last seven centuries. During that time this one mine has yielded half a million tons of pure copper. In output no other mine in the world equals it.

Agriculture. The government did not give the same attention to agriculture as to trade, mining, and manufacture, as it would not yield revenue as quickly as the other industries. That agriculture offers many advantages in other respects was not considered. "The wel-

fare of the country depends on commerce and navigation," was one of Gustavus Adolphus' sayings. Such were the doctrines of statesmen in nearly every country at that time. The frequent wars were also a hindrance to the development of agriculture. On an average 4,000 of the ablest men of the country were annually called into military service. And as there was continual war from 1621 to 1648 one can readily see what such a tremendous loss of man power meant to a country of a little over a million of men, women, and children.

Means of Communication. At this time, too, people began to realize the importance of good means of communication to a country's industrial life and prosperity. The roads were, in the words of Gustavus Adolphus, "so narrow and rocky that they might rather be called footpaths." Hence, both men and women usually traveled on horseback. At times one found the way blocked by wagoners, who would not turn out, but only quarrel. Again wagons would sometimes stick in the mire and could not be pulled out without help. When the roads were icy and one was to travel up or down steep hills it was almost a risk of life. A journey from Kalmar to Stockholm might require three weeks, or double the time now required for a voyage between Stockholm and New York.

Gustavus Adolphus began to improve the roads, but the work did not get fully under way till after his death, under the administration of Axel Oxenstiern. The result was a network of fine roads, for that time. Canals, too, were constructed. Postal service was established, uniting different parts of the country and

also the country with foreign lands. Postal stations were established along the main roads, and between them mail was carried by swift runners.

When the postilion neared the station he was to blow his horn so that the next runner could be ready to take up the mail bag without loss of time. Thus mail was carried day and night without stoppage, regardless of the weather. Soon horses were provided for the carriers, when the speed between stations was to be at a gallop.

From the post office in Stockholm the first Swedish newspapers were issued. They were at first small leaflets published by the government and mainly filled with news of the war and tales of horrid monsters, ghost adventures, and other terrible happenings.

Education. The dearest interests of Gustavus Adolphus were his efforts to elevate his people through education and culture. Uppsala University received from Gustavus Adolphus a donation of 300 estates, all that remained of Gustavus Vasa's estates after Eric's and John's extravagances. The income from these estates, the so-called Gustavian Hereditaments (Gustavianska arvegodsens), was designed for the support of professors and other teachers, for buildings, library, publications, etc. Even to this day the University derives a large part of its support from this endowment.

During the reign of Gustavus Adolphus the Swedish gymnasia had their beginning. At these institutions young men were prepared for the university. The first one was founded at Vesterås. These educational institutions were open to all, high and low, and many young

men of poor families have taken advantage of these free institutions and worked themselves up into prominence in the kingdom.

CHAPTER X

REIGN OF CHRISTINA, 1632-1654

A. THE REGENCY UNDER AXEL OXENSTIERN, 1632-1644

The Board of Regents. Gustavus Adolphus left only one child, the six-year-old Christina. According to the Norrköping Succession Act of 1604, which extended the succession to the female line, she would at the age of eighteen become the ruler of Sweden. But who was to conduct the government during her minority? Who, indeed, could conduct the great war to a successful end? Fortunately Sweden had one man who was eminently fitted for the office and one who had no rival for the position, and that was the great chancellor Axel Oxenstiern, Gustavus' faithful assistant.

In 1634 a new organic law was enacted, according to which the kingdom was to be governed during the minority of the queen by a regency of five high officers of state, each at the head of a department of government: the Chancellorship, the Departments of Justice, War and Navy, Foreign Affairs, and Finance. Axel Oxenstiern as chancellor was one of them. He now became the virtual ruler of Sweden. Both at home and in foreign lands, he enjoyed an unusual esteem. A contemporary French statesman declared that "if

all the statesmen of Europe were together on a ship they should entrust its helm to Axel Oxenstiern."

The Last Period of the Thirty Years' War. In 1634 Wallenstein was assassinated by some of his officers.



Axel Oxenstiern.

He had lately been engaged in treasonable plots against the Emperor. The new imperial commanders attacked the Protestants in South Germany. The nearest Swedish forces were commanded, one by Bernard of Weimar, the other by Gustav Horn. They united their

forces to save the free city of Nördlingen, which was besieged by the imperial army. The Protestants were inferior in numbers and suffered a defeat, 1634. Horn was taken captive while trying to maintain order and save the army. No Swedish regiment took part in this battle.

The results were serious for Sweden. At once nearly all the Protestant states fell away, Saxony taking the lead. The Elector John George concluded a separate peace with the Emperor, promising to aid him in driving the Swedes from Germany without any reward in lands. But with a humiliating dismissal Gustavus Adolphus' people were not to end their heroic career in Germany. Axel Oxenstiern would see to that. He sought to steel his colleagues in the government at home, and succeeded, too, though his own labors and cares were such that "head and brain would not suffice," as he put it. He finally returned to Sweden and succeeded in putting through a decision of the government to continue the war until Sweden had secured compensation and their fellow Protestants were made secure.

The fate of Sweden in Germany now depended on what John Banér with the only Swedish army left could do against the Emperor and the elector of Saxony, who had now become an open enemy. In an interview with Banér the elector said: "The Swedes must hasten to leave Germany, or I will help them along." "You spoke differently when Tilly appeared before Leipsic," reminded Banér, and threatened to "scorch the fingers" of any one who tried to drive out the Swedes. This he also did emphatically by defeating a superior force of

the combined imperial and Saxon armies at Wittstock in northern Brandenburg, 1636. By this victory he restored the Swedish military fame.

Banér was often in serious danger. Once while leading his army along the right bank of the Oder he encountered an imperial force of twice his strength, at the confluence of the Oder and the Warthe. He was thus shut up in the angle between the two rivers. The enemy boasted that they had bagged him. But Banér feigned a march of his army into Poland, thus drawing the enemy's attention that way, while he quietly led his army safely across the Oder into Pomerania. "They had me bagged," he is reported to have said jocularly, "but forgot to tie the knot."

What unhappy Germany suffered from the march of armies back and forth can not be described. Large areas of the richest land in Germany were laid waste. And of what use was it to cultivate afresh? Soon wild hordes would come again and destroy it all. The Swedish soldiers had become nearly as hardened and savage as the others. With the passing of Gustavus Adolphus the war had degenerated into a mere struggle for conquest.

On the death of John Banér, the command of the Swedish army fell to Lennart Torstensson. He had distinguished himself in the battle of Breitenfeld, but his services had for a season been interrupted when he was captured in a hot fight in South Germany. During his captivity in a damp and cold prison, he had contracted rheumatism so that at times he had to be carried in a litter. He reverted to Gustavus Adolphus' plan to transfer the scenes of war to the Emperor's

hereditary possessions—Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Austria. His method of war reminds one also of Gustavus Adolphus. He sought for instance to spare as far as possible the peaceable inhabitants of the lands into which he led his army.

His first campaign into the Emperor's lands he suddenly abandoned, however, and fell back into Saxony. The imperial forces pursued. The Swedish march became more and more precipitate, and the pursuers in like measure more and more eager, supposing the Swedes to be fleeing in fright. When the pursuers reached the plains of Breitenfeld, one October morning, 1642, they found themselves face to face with the Swedish army drawn up in battle array. Torstensson had conceived the plan of leading his wary opponent to a decisive battle. The result was a brilliant victory on the battle field where Gustavus Adolphus had won his decisive victory eleven years before. Thereupon Torstensson invaded anew the Emperor's lands, but was now ordered by the home government to march against Denmark.*

Through continued victories under Karl Gustav Wrangel, who succeeded Torstensson, the Swedish army as well as that of France forced the Emperor, in 1648, to agree to the Peace of Westphalia. A brilliant assembly of delegates from nearly all European states had continued during five whole years to negotiate, bargain, and adjust. The terms of peace accorded equal

* A peace congress was about to assemble, and Denmark, which had watched with a jealous eye the leadership of Sweden and her successes, now offered her services as a mediator. This must at all hazards be prevented. Hence, this order to Torstensson.

rights to Catholic and Protestant princes in the German states. This recognition of Protestantism was the best fruit of Gustavus Adolphus' participation in the Thirty Years' War. In the territorial settlement the treaty accorded to Sweden Hither Pomerania, west of the Oder, and part of Farther Pomerania, along the right bank of the Oder; the islands of Rügen, Usedom, and Wollin; Wismar and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden. The reason for this scattering of the Swedish possessions is that it gave Sweden control of the mouths of three German rivers, and the splendid harbor of Wismar was the terminus of a fourth line of transportation—that is from the Elbe to the Baltic.

Sweden had now become one of the greatest European powers. When the peace was concluded, Christina had for four years, since 1644, been the ruling queen of Sweden.

The Danish War, 1643–1645. Through Gustavus Adolphus' victories in Germany Sweden had become the chief power in the North. One can readily see how Denmark must have felt to be thus pushed back from her leadership. Christian IV did not dare, however, to resort to force a second time, but instead caused Sweden trouble in other ways. For centuries Denmark had levied toll on all merchant vessels passing through Öresund. But by agreement Swedish vessels were exempt from this toll. Now, however, they were unnecessarily keenly searched and in various ways annoyed. Denmark's jealousy and overbearance was more than Sweden could long endure. Furthermore permanent peace could not be maintained in the North as long as the boundaries between the kingdoms were

so unnatural as at that time. Gothenburg, Sweden's only port in the west, was narrowly hemmed in between the Norwegian Bohuslän and the Danish Halland. Skåne, Blekinge, and the Island of Gothland belonged to Denmark; Jemtland and Herjedalen to Norway.

As has already been related, Lennart Torstensson, while commanding the Swedish forces in Germany, received an order from home to march against Denmark. This was in the fall of 1643. At the opening of the new year he entered Denmark, and in less than a month he had subdued the Peninsula. Another Swedish army had invaded Skåne and conquered nearly the whole province.

On the sea, however, the Danes were more successful. Under the lead of Christian IV, then nearly 70 years old, they fought a great naval battle off the Island of Fehmarn, near the coast of Holstein, with an equally strong Swedish fleet under the command of Klas Fleming. The king was wounded and fell, but rose again, and kept heroically on deck till darkness put an end to the fight. Neither party could claim the victory. But Denmark was saved, for the Swedish fleet was not strong enough to land forces on the Danish islands. This was the greatest exploit of Denmark's greatest king.

Soon, however, the Swedes gained the upper hand on the sea too, and Denmark was compelled to accept peace. This was concluded in 1645 at Brömsebro on the border of Småland and Blekinge. Sweden's chief gains were Jemtland and Herjedalen from Norway and Halland and Gothland from Denmark, and unrestricted exemption from tolls at Öresund.

B. PERSONAL RULE OF CHRISTINA, 1644-1654

A Picture of the Times. There is a holiday at the little town of Grenna. The whole town stands reverently waiting down at the bridge. All eyes are turned to a little flotilla of boats, decorated with crimson draperies, just ready to land. From the finest of them a stately gentleman comes forth. With becoming dignity he responds to the reverential bows of the mayor and the council. The burghers on parade present arms. Who is he on whom this princely homage is bestowed? He is one of the five high officers of the realm, the Count of Visingsborg, Per Brahe, who today vouchsafes a visit to his town.

He is a mighty man, Count Per. By purchases from the crown and private parties he has greatly extended his domains. By grants of a generous queen they have increased still more. He now owns all the lands about the southern parts of Lake Vettern, except Jönköping, and has in addition considerable possessions in Finland and Uppland. He is Sweden's richest count. His proud castle, Visingsborg, is strongly fortified with walls and towers. It is beautifully furnished with costly tapestries and hangings, paintings, and polished weapons.

From Visingsborg he rules over his subjects with princely power (his own statement). He collects taxes from them. He is the chief judge in his domains, and on Vising Isle he has the power of life and death over his subjects. Yet no one ever hears any complaint that the count abuses his power in extortions or unjust decisions. No, a better lord there is none. He visits the different parts of his vast domains to see that his

people are prosperous and comfortable. He has built roads, improved harbors, and planted fruit trees around the castle and about the huts of his subjects.

The Privileges of the Nobles. Lands held by the nobles were more or less exempt from taxation, and such lands were continually increasing in extent. Many a warlike exploit had to be rewarded with a grant of land. Possessions of such men as Axel Oxenstiern, John Banér, Lennart Torstensson, and Per Brahe equaled whole provinces. Naturally the government sought to reward such men for their eminent services to the state. In critical times neither Gustavus Adolphus nor the regency had any other means of securing funds than to sell crown lands to wealthy nobles. With every such sale or feudal grant the revenues of the crown diminished. But the war relentlessly demanded money and more money and men in their best years. Thus ever heavier became the burdens of the unprivileged classes.

Those were dark days for the peasantry. Their small holdings were threatened to be swallowed up by the nobles. Many peasants on crown lands passed by grants and purchases under lordly masters. One must not suppose that the tax burdens of the peasants were lightened by the fact that the lands they now worked under the lords were more or less exempt from taxation. No, cruel and arbitrary lords practiced many extortions, and in their prisons and flogging huts many heart-rending cruelties and injustices were committed on defenseless subjects.

The peasants complained at a Riksdag in Christian's reign: "We have heard that in other lands the peasant

is a slave, we fear that the same fate may reach us." Had they deserved such a lot? No, they declared, "We have taken part in the defense of our spiritual and civil freedom, we have secured for the kingdom many large



Skokloster on an inlet of Lake Mälär.

territories." And now, "should a few have the benefit of it all?" The Swedish peasantry were wont to expect relief from the throne. Was it to come?

Life during the Period of Greatness. Many lordly estates vied with Visingsborg. Such were De la Gardie's Läckö with a beautifully located castle on the northern shore of Kålland Isle; Axel Oxenstiern's Södra Möre in southeastern Småland; and Karl Gustav

Wrangel's Skokloster on an inlet of the Mälar, where with the treasures gathered in Polish and German wars he had reared the proudest castle ever owned by a private man in Sweden. Its interior was decorated with masses of splendid weapons, paintings, precious hangings, ornaments, and books, things saved from the Thirty Years' War. Thus arose one castle more magnificent than another.

In these grand halls was hastily spent the plundered wealth in feasting and luxurious living. One must, forsooth, show the foreigner that the Swede was not only a fine warrior, but was also rich and stylish. The Swede thought more of being a rich man than of working himself up to be one. Even the ambassador of wealthy France declared that luxury in Sweden in proportion to wealth was greater than in any other land. Under the glittering surface there was much coarseness, which astonished cultured foreigners; not least was the extravagance in food and drink. One of Gustavus Adolphus' table orders prescribed thirty dishes for dinner. Of course it was not intended that each one should eat of all the dishes, but that each one could have his choice of them.

The long continued camp life had inevitably tended to lower social standards among men, and wild drinking bouts with fighting belonged to the order of the day. But the war had also another result. As in the viking days, the men returned home not only with precious plunder, but also with new, fresh impressions from the great world, and with a newborn initiative and aggressiveness, which served the country in good stead.

The extravagance and love of splendor noted above did not extend to the peasants. Among them the simple life prevailed, albeit with coarseness and superstition. Foreigners were surprised at their hospitality, a primitive virtue in the North. To them it was the most natural thing to receive wayfarers as many as they could house. An English envoy, making the long journey from Gothenburg to Stockholm, with a large suite and baggage, tells with some surprise of another trait of this people. On that long journey he had not lost a single thing, not a penny's worth.

The Queen and Her Court. Christina had a most remarkable ability for acquiring knowledge. The learning of a new language, Greek for instance, she regarded as a pastime for spare moments. And this wonder child had been crammed with all the learning of the day. But in womanly employments she took no interest whatever.

The young queen was determined to hold the reins of government herself. No one was to help her, for then the honor would not be hers. The great Axel Oxenstiern was in her way. Away, therefore, with the old, faithful servant. He was now for a season to experience the disfavor of his young ruler. Instead, she gave her favor to young nobles, whose qualities consisted in brilliant appearance. Foremost among them was Count Magnus De la Gardie. On him the queen showered undeserved distinctions, grants of land, and gifts of money. At a little more than twenty he was made a councilor, and shortly afterwards a high officer of the realm. He did, however, render service to Swedish culture by the generous support he gave to

artists and men of science. This he did especially as chief executive of Uppsala University.

The Queen's Extravagance. Christina's lavishness in bestowing lands and titles exceeded all reasonable



Queen Christina.

limits. She more than doubled the number of noble families and created five times as many counts and barons as there had been before. All these had to be provided with appropriate holdings. Finally she had to insert in the deed of gift the phrase: "Provided the

land is not already granted to another." Her father, it is true, had also greatly favored the nobility. The noblemen were, at the time, almost the only persons who possessed the culture required for government service. But Gustavus Adolphus also demanded that they should serve their country either with the sword or "the learned arts." No one, as he expressed it, was allowed to "lie at home on the rubbish." To the order of the nobles Gustavus Adolphus raised only such of the commons as had distinguished themselves in war or peace.

Christina on the other hand bestowed the honors on a large number of unworthy persons. The holdings of the nobility finally embraced more than half the land of the kingdom. The unprivileged classes complained of their heavy burdens, and requested that the state should take back the land which the nobles had seized. In some quarters the peasants were so embittered that they threatened to "slay all the nobles."

Christina's Decision to Abdicate. The queen realized very well that a change must be made, but she did not wish to make it herself. She delighted to have about her a powerful and brilliant nobility and never wished to offend this social class. She soon found a way of escaping the difficulty. She would abdicate her crown and leave her dull fatherland forever. To this decision other causes contributed. Christina had never been able to reconcile herself to the strict Lutheran doctrine. She thought the Protestant services monotonous and dull. It might suit the dull, uncultured Northerner, but as for her, she was attracted to the livelier South, its cultured people, its time-honored church with its

splendor and wealth. There she would live in the midst of art creations, poetry, and science as queen in the world of genius. There would her rich endowments of genius be fully appreciated. And what wonder and admiration would the act she was about to perform excite all over Europe, when she at the height of power, young and admired, voluntarily laid down her crown!

Christina was the last legal heir to the throne of the Vasa family, and had formed a definite decision never to marry. She had prevailed on the council and the Estates to accept her cousin, Charles Gustavus, as her successor to the throne. He was the son of the daughter of Charles IX, and Count Palatine of Zweibrücken. His family is therefore known as the Palatinate Family.

The Abdication. At a Riksdag in 1654 she carried out her decision, after having secured for herself a sufficient annual allowance from Sweden. She appeared before the Estates in royal attire. Her letter of abdication was read, whereupon she delivered the crown, the scepter, and the mound to the ministry, and laid aside the coronation robe. She then appeared robed in white and "spoke so beautifully and so freely," says Per Brahe, in his diary. "At times her voice almost broke. Her majesty brought tears to the eyes of many an honest man and woman. She appeared as beautiful as an angel."—"She is after all the daughter of the great Gustavus," sighed the aged Axel Oxenstiern, who was soon to lay his weary head to rest forever.

Among those present at this ceremony was an English envoy. He relates among other things how the speakers of the four Estates—Nobility, Clergy, Burgh-

ers, and Peasants—each in order presented his regrets at the queen's decision. With special interest he dwells upon the presentations of one of them, the speaker for the peasants. "A simple peasant with nail-studded shoes and in peasant's garb stepped forward, and in his plain speech said, 'What is Your Majesty about to do? It grieves us to hear you talk of deserting those who love you as we do. If you leave this great kingdom, both you and we will have occasion to regret it in deep sorrow when it is too late. Therefore my comrades and I pray Your Majesty to think seriously on this matter. Continue in the harness, Your Majesty, and be the forward horse as long as you live. We will aid you as well as we can, and pull the load. Your father was an honest man and a good king and active in the world. We followed him, obeyed him, and loved him during all his days. You are his only child, and we love you with all our heart. The Count is an honorable man, and when his time comes we will do our duty by him. But as long as you live we would not part from you. Therefore we pray Your Majesty, do not part from us.'

"After having thus spoken, he stepped forward without ceremony and took the queen's hand with a hearty shake and kissed it two or three times. Then he turned away, and from his pocket drew a coarse handkerchief, and wiped the tears from his eyes."

This plain peasant, in his homespun clothes before the queen and her brilliant surroundings, was perhaps the most remarkable thing the foreign diplomats saw in Sweden, during a century when the tiller of the soil in nearly every other country in Europe was a serf.

Christina's Departure. Immediately after this, Christina left her native land. On the way to Rome, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus renounced the faith for which her father had laid down his life, and espoused the Roman faith. In Rome she expected to gain the happiness she had pictured to herself. But she could not flee from herself, or from her restless, fickle nature. She made two subsequent visits to her native land in the vain hope of having her title to the Swedish throne restored. These visits were of short duration, as she was forbidden her Catholic worship. She returned to Rome, where she died April 19, 1689. She was buried in St. Peter's, in Rome.

CHAPTER XI

REIGN OF CHARLES X GUSTAVUS, 1654-1660

A. INTRODUCTION

The Palatinate Family. With the abdication of Christina, in 1654, the House of Vasa came to an end. The new Family received its name from the German Palatinate of Zweibrücken. During the Thirty Years' War, Count Palatine John Casimir and his wife Catherine, sister of Gustavus Adolphus, driven from their home in Germany, found refuge in Sweden. Here their son Charles Gustavus was born and grew up in the same simple manner as his mother and his uncle, Gustavus Adolphus, had done before him.

Though the family derived its name from Germany, Charles Gustavus was in language, sympathies, and

patriotism thoroughly Swedish. With enthusiasm he seized the opportunity of learning the art of war under the command of Lennart Torstensson. He soon won the confidence of his commander and the devotion



Charles X Gustavus.

of his soldiers, and became the last Swedish commander in the Thirty Years' War. Full of youthful vigor and energy he now ascended the Swedish throne.

The Resumption (Reduktionen). It was a most unpleasant task Christina had left to her successor. To restore to the crown what she had thoughtlessly given away was the only possible way to supply the means

for the country's necessary expenses. Only thus could the complaints of the peasantry be quieted and good will restored. Charles Gustavus knew what he wanted. At his first Riksdag he induced the nobles to agree to a Resumption by the crown of one-fourth of the estates granted after the death of Gustavus Adolphus.

B. THE POLISH WAR, 1655-1660

Object and Cause of the War. After Sweden had once begun to make conquests on the other side of the Baltic, her aim was to secure all the shores of that sea, and thus convert it into a Swedish lake. By this means Sweden might levy port duties at the mouths of all the Polish rivers, and thus tax all Poland's commerce as she did that of Russia and North Germany. Thus she could secure the means for keeping up her position as a great power. Such control of the Baltic had loomed before the eyes of Gustavus Adolphus. It was to become the chief aim of Charles Gustavus' policy.

Poland and Russia were engaged in a life-and-death struggle. Russia was about to extend her control over Poland's coast lands, thus reaching the Baltic, and breaking down the wall raised against her by Gustavus Adolphus. This plan Sweden must oppose at all costs.

The Campaigns. As on a triumphal march Charles Gustavus began his invasion of Poland at the head of a magnificent army. He was soon master of the greater part of the land. Europe was amazed. But suddenly there was an angry uprising of the people against the heretical strangers, who plundered their churches and convents. The Swedes marched rapidly through the

country in all directions and won in all engagements. But immediately the enemy rose again, well organized and reinforced. In the meantime the Swedish forces began to dwindle more and more. To deal the Poles a decisive blow, the king entered into an alliance with the Elector of Brandenburg, who also sought to increase his possessions at the expense of Poland. With the combined force of 18,000 men the allies after a three days' conflict triumphed over 50,000 Poles at Warsaw, 1656. The great victory had, however, no important results. The Swedish army was too weak to pursue the enemy, and the elector, who would not allow his ally any advantages, refused to accompany him southward.

C. THE FIRST WAR WITH DENMARK, 1657-1658

The Opening of the War. While Charles Gustavus was thus engaged in the Polish War, the king of Denmark, Frederick III, resolved to attempt to wrest from Sweden what she had taken from Denmark a decade before. But before Frederick was well aware of it, the king of Sweden had left Poland, crossed North Germany, and appeared in Jutland. This was in the late summer of 1657. The Swedish army was small, but it was made up of the world's foremost warriors, trained and toughened in numerous conflicts. The Danish forces, on the other hand, were untrained. Without meeting with any serious resistance, the Swedes made themselves masters of all Jutland.

Crossing the Little Belt. Even nature came to the aid of the Swedes. In January, 1658, the cold became

so intense that the Little Belt froze over. When the sun arose on January 30, the Swedish army appeared in battle array on the ice of Little Belt. On the shore of the Isle of Fyen the Danes stood waiting. At the weakest point of the ice the horsemen dismounted and led their horses. The ice rose and fell under them, but did not break. The regiments that first arrived fell upon the Danes. Suddenly from over the ice came a cry of distress. The sea had opened and two troops of cavalry had disappeared in the deep. The other forces coming up behind stopped. Would their fate be the same? The king hurried back to the edge of the break at the risk of his life and by his example calmed his men, who in scattered bands happily got across. The enemy was beaten and the island taken.

Crossing the Great Belt. But the most dangerous part of the enterprise remained—the crossing of the Great Belt, for the goal was Copenhagen. The king intrusted to his adjutant, the able and brave Eric Dahlberg, the investigation of the ice. He had won the king's favor in a high degree by his courage and ability as an engineer. He returned with the assurance that the ice would carry. Then the king struck his hands together with enthusiasm and exclaimed: "Now, brother Frederick, we will converse together in good Swedish."

The same night the army began the march toward Langeland. "It was," says an accompanying French ambassador, "something awful to travel by night over this field of ice, where the tramp of the horses had melted the snow so that water stood over nineteen inches deep on the ice, and where one feared every

moment to find open places in the sea." At noon the forces reached the eastern coast of the island of Langeland. Before them they could see only a waste sheet of snow and ice; for the channel between Langeland and Låland is fourteen miles wide. But no rest. Like a dark, curling line appeared the marching army across the snow. At the head rode Eric Dahlberg showing the way. By and by a bluish line appeared in the east. It was Låland. By dusk the army again reached land. From there the march was rapid across Låland and Falster to Seeland's southern point. Thus was completed this exploit, which has no parallel in all history, vying in boldness with Hannibal's and Napoleon's crossing the Alps.

The Treaty of Roskilde. The fortifications of Copenhagen had fallen into decay, the garrison was insufficient, and the people were paralyzed with fear. Denmark's fate was sealed. By the Treaty of Roskilde, 1658, Sweden acquired from Denmark Skåne, Blekinge, and Bornholm; from Norway Bohuslän and the province of Trondhjem. By its two attacks on Denmark from the German side Sweden proper had acquired natural boundaries and its largest extent of territory.

Denmark was considerably weakened by these losses. In Skåne she lost one of her chief parts, the home of her mightiest peasants and her most celebrated nobility.

D. THE SECOND WAR WITH DENMARK, 1658-1660

Cause of the War. A stipulation in the Treaty of Roskilde provided that Sweden and Denmark should jointly exclude all hostile fleets from the Baltic. But

SWEDEN

1658



how could Charles Gustavus hope to secure a willing ally in a power with which he had just fought a campaign of life and death? He was soon to find that he had thoroughly deceived himself and that from Denmark he could expect not aid but revenge at the first opportunity. "Better forestall than be forestalled," he thought, and decided to convert Denmark and Norway into Swedish provinces.

Siege and Storming of Copenhagen. Within six months after the treaty of Roskilde, Charles Gustavus with an army appeared before Copenhagen a second time. The plan was to storm the city at once. Its fortifications were in a dilapidated condition; the dikes were in many places dry; the walls could in many places be ridden or driven over. But indignation and a sense of danger filled the people with the courage of despair. When King Frederick was advised to flee he answered: "I will die in my capital like the bird in its nest." The city officials with the assent of the people pledged him their lives for the defense of the fatherland. Every man became a warrior. The students armed themselves; the highest men in the state seized the spade to work at the walls; women pushed wheelbarrows and encouraged the men.

At the sight of Copenhagen's determined efforts at defense Charles Gustavus' face clouded. He became wary and held a council of war. Eric Dahlberg who had carefully examined the fortifications earnestly advised him to storm the city at once; he would undertake to drive a wagon over the wall in front of the storming army. But most of the high officers advised against it, as the army was too weak for storming.

This time the king did not follow Dahlberg's advice, but adopted the fatal plan of formally investing the city.

At the opening of the year 1659, when the cold had closed the sea to the fleets, he decided to storm the place. It was a hazardous attempt as the defenders were superior in numbers to the besiegers. The soldiers were shrouded in white robes to make them less conspicuous against the snow. Silently they approached the walls. Everything seemed to go well as had been planned. Scaling ladders were placed against the icy walls, and soldiers began climbing up, when suddenly cannons flashed from the walls. The plan had been revealed to the Danes, and they were ready for the defense. The besiegers were met with a deadly musket fire, volleys of stones rained down upon them and streams of scalding water drenched them. Beneath the walls were heaps of dead and dying. "That night the Danish people performed their greatest military achievement in historic times," says a celebrated Danish historian.

Finally Charles Gustavus was compelled to give the signal for retreat. But those who supposed that he had given up his plans deceived themselves. After some time he repaired to Sweden and called a Riksdag to meet in Gothenburg, to secure new levies and appropriations for the war. Having arrived in Gothenburg, he was suddenly seized with a fever and was snatched away in the flower of his age, February 13, 1660. To the last moment he worked as untiringly as in the days of his health. In vain his physicians advised him to rest. Fearlessly he met death, which he had so often faced on battle fields.

CHAPTER XII

REIGN OF CHARLES XI, 1660-1697

A. PERIOD OF THE REGENCY, 1660-1672

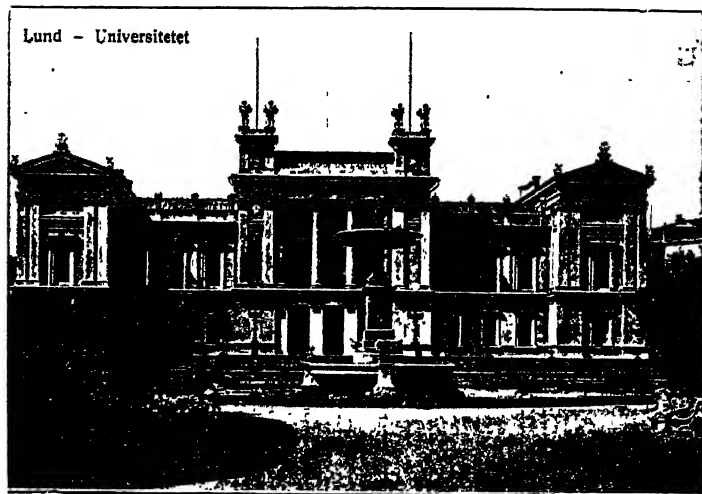
The Regency. In the midst of wars Charles Gustavus passed away, leaving the kingdom to a child of four, his son Charles. Again Sweden had a board of regents. It was composed of the queen mother and the five chief ministers of state. Questions on which the regents could not agree were to be decided by the whole council.

Peace Treaties. The most important duty of the regency was to secure peace for the overburdened people. It succeeded beyond expectations. With Poland peace was concluded at Oliva, a cloister near Danzig, in 1660. By this peace Livonia was permanently ceded to Sweden. By it, too, was ended the century-long struggle for the possession of the Baltic Provinces.* The same year peace was made with Denmark in Copenhagen. By this treaty Denmark recovered Bornholm and the province of Trondhjem, and the boundaries of the three northern countries were fixed as they have ever since remained.

Misrule of the Regency. In this regency there was unfortunately no such man as Axel Oxenstiern. There were too many who wished to play masters, hence, the

* By this treaty the king of Poland renounced his claim to the Swedish throne. In this treaty, too, Brandenburg and the Emperor were included. Peace on the basis of status quo was concluded at Kardis with Russia in 1661.

government was divided and weak. The worst was, however, its extravagance. They distributed large numbers of estates, and most liberally to themselves. The resources of the realm diminished as in Christina's day. Means were not found for even the most necessary expenses. Government officials and servants could not



The University of Lund.

get their salaries. They almost had to beg their bread, or resort to accepting bribes. Soldiers deserted in masses to escape starvation, and in the harbors costly ships lay idle and rotting.

For this extravagance and mismanagement the most culpable among the regents was Magnus De la Gardie. From his many estates he had an immense income. But "he could have consumed whole kingdoms had they been in his power." So declared a contemporary.

Redeeming Features. The Regency has, however, some good to its credit. It did much for the nationalization of the newly acquired provinces, among other things the founding of the University of Lund (1668). During this time, too, the Swedish National Bank (Sveriges riksbank) was founded, which the Estates took over. In time it became highly serviceable to industries by aiding new enterprises with loans.

B. THE PERSONAL RULE OF CHARLES XI, 1672-1697

His Education and Character. At the age of seventeen Charles XI was declared of age at a Riksdag in Stockholm, 1672. At this time he was a young sportsman, whose chief delights were wild rides, hunting, and military exploits.

His education had been sadly neglected, another instance of the carelessness of the regency. He had not acquired the knowledge necessary for the government of a kingdom, and what was worse, he had not learned to govern himself. It is true he was justly praised for moral uprightness, justice, and love of truth; but he might become perfectly beside himself with anger. At military drill, for instance, one might see him strike officers about the ears with the flat of his sword.

The War with Denmark. When Christian V of Denmark learned the unfortunate condition of Sweden, he declared war in 1675, hoping to regain what his country had lost to Sweden. Denmark's domestic affairs were greatly improved since the days of Charles X. The indifference of the nobles to their country during the last three wars with Sweden had aroused a fierce rage among the unprivileged classes against those "in-

famous robbers and traitors to the kingdom." When in the last war Denmark's independence was at stake, it was only Copenhagen's burghers and the king that



Charles XI.

had sacrificed for the defense of the country. The alliance between the king and the burghers prevailed when the three higher estates were summoned to a convention at Copenhagen in 1660.

The burghers and clergy proposed that the crown of Denmark should be made hereditary in recognition of Fredrick III's services in the war. The council and nobles opposed the measure. Then the gates were closed so that the obstinate nobles could not escape, and the burghers began to arm themselves. The nobles were thus frightened into yielding. Shortly after this the king published new laws, which made him an absolute sovereign. No one now dared oppose him.

The one who really governed the kingdom during the first years of Christian's reign was his friend and chancellor, Griffenfeldt. Though strong and healthy, the king was, in natural endowments, far inferior to his highly gifted minister. Griffenfeldt wished to unite the northern kingdoms in an alliance against other powers. But he was defeated by his jealous associates and other opponents. They prevailed on the king to declare war on Sweden, to arrest Griffenfeldt and accuse him of treason against the state. The stroke came as a clap of thunder from a clear sky. The chancellor could not be convicted of the crime, but was nevertheless condemned to death. Just before the execution was to take place he was pardoned, but was kept in prison till shortly before his death.

When the war opened, Charles XI placed his reliance on his fleet. With it he hoped to ward off the war from Sweden and effect a landing on Seeland. But when the ships were finally ready to put to sea they were met by autumn storms. The cordage of the ships was then found to be rotten, and the ships were left without both sails and anchors. Unwholesome food and lack of fresh water had already caused sickness on board.

The rough sea incapacitated the recruits so that, for instance, on one ship of 200 men only 11 were fit for service. The ships were mainly left to drift. To meet an enemy with a fleet that could not manage itself was not to be thought of, so there was nothing to do but to return to Stockholm.

The inexperienced youth who was to direct the kingdom realized that his guardians had neglected their duties, but as yet he did not know the full extent of the evil. He hastened to the naval storehouse and discovered the old rotten cordage used for naval equipment. He turned to the admiralty and asked the officials why they had managed the fleet so poorly. They replied that funds were lacking. Then he repaired to the treasury department. The accounts were examined and it was found that the report of the admiralty was all too true. Upon further inquiry he found that the revenues for the coming year were already spent. His head was in a whirl. There seemed to be no one that he could depend on. He decided to take charge of all himself. He asked no advice. He gave orders. The youth had become a man.

During the winter, the king devoted himself to fitting out the fleet, which put to sea in the spring of 1676 in good order, but under a land commander and with a crew called by the Danes "only farm hands dipped in water." The Swedish admiral sought a battle. Followed by the Danish fleet he sailed with a strong wind toward the southern point of Öland, where he decided to give battle, and gave orders to face about. But in his eagerness he forgot that the admiral's ship had the lower gun ports open to be ready to give a

broadside. In the turning of the ship the water rushed in, and the ship nearly captized. A general confusion ensued. The men standing at the cannons with burning fuses dropped them. Fire broke out and spread to the powder magazine. A roaring fiery pillar pierced the air, and in another moment only a few scattered fragments were left of the proudest war vessel in the North. In terror the fleet scattered. But Klas Ugglå with four ships held out against fifteen of the enemy's largest ships until his own ship was fired, when he threw himself into the sea and perished.

The Danes were now masters in the Baltic. Any attempt to make a landing on Seeland was now out of the question. Instead the Danes now crossed the Sound and conquered Skåne. The peasants in Skåne, who were still Danish in spirit, thought the war was over and Skåne restored to Denmark. In the forests along the borders of Småland and Blekinge they gathered in bands under the name of snappers and plundered the Swedish peasants, and under bold leaders attacked small divisions of the Swedish army. Their captives were tortured to death with such cruelty that veterans of the Thirty Years' War declared they had never seen anything like it. It is related that the king himself had a narrow escape from the snappers while visiting the pastor in Åhus. In haste he climbed up into the chimney, and the minister shut the damper on which the king rested while the snappers ransacked every nook and corner of the house without finding their prey.

At the news of these disasters on land and sea the king was seized with dumb despair. He soon, however, roused himself from his stupor and resolved to risk a

decisive battle and conquer or die. One cold December morning in 1676, the Swedish and Danish armies met at Lund. Charles advanced with the right wing, shouting to his men, "Remember you are Swedes." His horse was shot under him, but he mounted a new one, and mingled in the hottest hand-to-hand fight. After several hot encounters the Danish left wing broke in wild flight, while Charles pursued. Being informed that his center and left wing were about to give way, he hurried to their aid at full speed. At the sight of their king the soldiers were fired with new courage. A murderous fight followed. The enemy's lines were crowded into a clump. Their cavalry sought safety in flight. The infantry were cut down or captured. The battle was one of the bloodiest ever fought by Swedes. Half of the combatants fell on each side.

After the battle of Lund, the Swedes won back Skåne step by step. Charles celebrated the day of that battle every year; not with noise or great festivities, but in the quietude of his chamber, he rendered thanks to God. By the Treaty of Lund, in 1679, Sweden was left with its territory undiminished.

Johan Gyllenstierna. Charles XI could well have repeated the words of Gustavus Vasa that he had received "a wasted and paralyzed kingdom." As in the days of Gustavus Vasa, there was even now wealth among a class of people in the midst of the general poverty. During the dark days of trial, he decided upon a more thorough resumption of alienated estates than that of his father. In this determination he was supported by a man who had won his confidence during the war. This was the councilor Johan Gyllenstierna.

"He is a hero in war as in peace," said Charles of him. Nothing seemed too difficult for this strong giant, who with his powerful hands could straighten out a horse-shoe.

That members of his class hated him for his recommendations to the king and called him Stor-Jon (Big John) he cared not; for he saw what the country needed for its salvation. He advised the king to have the absolutism which he had assumed during the war confirmed by an act of the Riksdag, and carry through a thorough resumption. Only through such means could the strength of Sweden be restored. But he was not to live to see his plans carried out. Shortly after the peace, he was carried off by a sudden fever in the full strength of his manhood. He is said to have uttered on his deathbed, "I die content, for I know that Sweden will for many years be governed on my principles."

Inquiry into the Affairs of the Regency. The king placed his hopes on the Riksdag summoned in 1680. It was felt throughout the kingdom that important matters would be decided at this Riksdag, and that the hostility among the classes would here come to an issue.

After vehement discussion, it was decided that the king's guardians should be held accountable for their mismanagement and should reimburse the state for the losses it had sustained. The inquiry was to be conducted by a high commission. Not only the regents, but all the members of the council as well were made amenable to this commission. The inquiry fell heavily on the great lords or their heirs, who were sentenced to pay large sums into the treasury. This inquiry was

the first blow to the great nobles. It fell on the men who had mismanaged the affairs of the government. But yet harder blows were to follow, blows to fall upon the entire class, whose leading men had abused their power and wealth.

The Resumption. Immediately after the establishment of this commission, the three unprivileged Estates presented to the king a joint memorial for a thorough resumption. The king was well informed of what was coming. He left it to the nobles to answer. For a long time the great lords objected, but they had no effective remedy to propose in its place. The result was a resolution by the nobles that the countships, baronies, and all other large grants should be restored to the crown. A special commission was appointed to carry out this decision.

But what was secured through the resumption act of 1680 did not suffice for the payment of the national debt. Therefore the resumption was extended at the next Riksdag, in 1682, to the smaller grants as well. The burden thus fell on the lesser nobility, too. No wonder the nobility were embittered beyond measure. No one now felt secure in his possessions. Many a small holder of land, barely sufficient for a living, was visited by the crown and district bailiffs and informed that his land had once been a crown possession and would accordingly be confiscated. The owner had perhaps never had an inkling of this matter. He or his ancestors had bought the place. "Show then that it has never been royal domain," declared the officers. Thus the owner was shorn of house and lands.

The king himself was untiring in his work of confis-

cation. Throughout the land cries and lamentations were heard against these severe measures. Not only men, but helpless widows, left destitute, came to Stockholm to implore the king for mercy. But he pursued his course unmoved, holding fast to his principle that the public weal is paramount to that of the individual. The king had been stirred to deep indignation at the evils brought on by laxity, hence, his unyielding sternness. He had seen his kingdom paralyzed and dishonored through the lack of means. It was not to happen again, rather let the individual suffer. Every mite he collected went to the upbuilding of the state, not a penny to amusements, pomp, or display, nor to his own personal use.

The chief significance of the Inquiry and the Resumption was that the power of the great nobles was forever broken. De la Gardie was permitted to hold only one small estate, where he spent his last years in poverty and complaint. It was the end of petty princes, boasting of their "courts" and "subjects." The freedom of the people was secured.

Absolutism. We have seen that during the war the king took matters in his own hands and did not consult his council. But this increase in the royal power did not accord with the law of the land. The king must therefore have the law changed by the Estates. He had need of this power continually, for powerful forces were working to undo the Resumption. He therefore inquired of the Riksdag, in 1680, whether he had to consult the council when he took measures regarding the government of the realm. The Estates gave a written reply to the effect that the councilors were simply

the king's faithful servants, whom he could consult when he pleased, and that the decision always rested with His Majesty, who as governor of his own God-given heritage was responsible to God alone for his acts.

At the Riksdag in 1682, the turn came to the power of the Estates themselves. The king induced them to pass an act giving him the right to make laws without the consent of the Estates. Thus absolutism was established in Sweden as it had previously been established in Denmark and in several other lands. When the next Riksdag was summoned the members on their way to Stockholm could read the following irritating lines on some of the milestones:

"What's to be done is e'en now done,
Ye, legislators, need not run."

It was true enough. The Estates only bowed and assented to everything His Majesty proposed. Their humility knew no bounds. The king was called "an absolute and all-commanding king with power to govern his kingdom according to his own pleasure." Even the power of taxation passed from the Estates. The proceeds from the inquest of the regents and the resumption of grants furnished the king with increased revenues so that he had no need of extra taxes and could manage with the incomes that accrued without the acts of the Estates.

Naval Defenses. With the naval defense Charles had to start practically anew. The late war had demonstrated the unsuitableness of Stockholm as a chief naval station. There the fleet was usually icebound till late in the spring, and in its passage through the

archipelago nearly all winds were needed, thus causing much delay. In the meantime an enemy might do much damage along the country's coasts. Hence, there was founded under the able supervision of Hans Wachtmeister a new naval base with docks and yards, which received the name of Karlskrona. Under his supervision, too, there was built a strong fleet at this place. But Charles was not one to abuse his country's powers. He had seen too much of the miseries of war to plunge his country into that evil.

The Peasantry. Like a father Charles cared for the interests of the peasantry. He had freed the peasants from the oppression of the nobles. They need no more fear imprisonment and torture in the castles of the lords. By watchful care that justice was evenly administered he contributed not a little to the general welfare. Thus he wrote to all the governors of the kingdom, "It is our gracious will and order that ye at all times diligently and without fail listen to the complaints of the people and render assistance, so that no one may complain that he has failed to get a hearing and to receive help in what is right and possible."

Charles felt most at home with the peasantry, hence, the nobles gave him the same name as Charles IX had received from them. On his many journeys through the country he inquired into the conditions of the people. He would then usually come riding, wearing a gray cloak. Many songs are extant of the journeys of "Gray Cloak."

Church and Education. Since the days of Charles IX no king had done so much for the Church as Charles XI. It received order and stability through his Church

Law, which in its main features survives to the present day. The new Catechism and Hymnal (Psalmbok) also contributed to good churchly order. Hitherto it had often been left to the whims of the publishers what hymns should be included in the hymn books.

The Church Law served also as a school regulation. Charles had himself felt the want of a more thorough education. He often wished that as a child he could have had a chance to acquire learning. Hence, he was all the more eager to spread learning and culture among his people.

The king's chief adviser in church matters was Bishop, later Archbishop, Håkan Spegel, a prominent hymn writer and one of the noblest characters of the Swedish Church. The king also held in high esteem the able and courageous Bishop Jesper Svedberg, who labored most zealously for the enlightenment and culture of the Swedish people.



Håkan Spegel.

Witchcraft. We, who at Easter time are wont to jest about witches riding through the air to the witches' sabbath, find it hard to realize that two and a half centuries ago even the most learned men fully believed that women could enter into a league with the devil, and from him receive power to practice witchcraft, to

work evil to men and animals. If a plague broke out in a community it was believed that some witch had caused it. If failure of crops occurred, if fire broke out, if a cow failed to give milk, or gave poor milk—all such calamities were ascribed to witchcraft. Soon the unhappy victim, the supposed witch, was discovered. No punishment could be too severe for so heinous a sin.

Ever since the Middle Ages the spiritual and temporal powers had united in efforts to drive out the evil spirit from such possessed persons. The unhappy victims accused of witchcraft were first forced by the use of the most cruel torture to confess and were then burned at the stake. Like a pestilence the infection spread to all lands, and it is believed that millions suffered death in consequence.

In Sweden this spiritual plague seems to have broken out in Dalecarlia. Near the Leksand church there is shown to this day a mound on which witches were burned, who were believed to have carried off children to the evil one and practiced other iniquities. This delusion spread to neighboring provinces and then to wider circles.

Toward the close of the century, however, enlightened men began to see that the whole matter was imagination and slander. The chief credit for this sane movement is due to the noted physician Urban Hjärne, a member of a witch-court in Stockholm. He succeeded gradually in convincing people that all this talk of witchcraft was mere superstition and gossip. Thus finally the trial and punishment of witches ceased.

Queen Ulrica Eleonora. While Charles with iron hand pressed forward the work of resumption and untiringly labored to strengthen his kingdom, his gentle queen, Ulrica Eleonora of Denmark, one of the noblest women known to history, devoted her life to soothing and relieving sorrow and distress. Shortly after the treaty of Lund, she had come to Sweden as the bride of Charles XI, a guardian angel of the peace in the North. She had promised her hand to Charles before the war broke out, and she kept her promise during the hostilities between the two countries, though many efforts were made by her brother, Christian V, to break the betrothal.



Queen Ulrica Eleonora,
wife of Charles XI.

When her beloved husband, Charles XI, was sick she was ever at his bedside. But to show any tenderness in return was not in Charles' nature. Not until she lay on her deathbed were his eyes opened to what he was about to lose. Now he felt bitter remorse for his neglect. He sat at her bedside day and night and received her last request, that he would be kind to the poor and treat his subjects with gentleness. Charles was inconsolable. "Here I leave the half of my heart," he said as he withdrew from the departed.

Failure of Crops and Famine. During the last decade of the century the seasons seemed to have changed their usual order of succession. One year buds and leaves appeared in February, and migratory birds came north. In many places spring planting was begun. But in May there was good sleighing, and in August heads of grain hung ice-covered. Another year strawberries ripened in September. Some winters were so long and severe that wolves driven by hunger attacked people in their homes. Spring work did not begin before mid-summer. Here and there a green blade was seen on the fields, otherwise only the black soil. In many places people were found dead with pieces of bark in their mouths. The king bought grain to distribute among the starving, but it did not suffice. More than 100,000 persons starved to death. Whole parishes perished; the churches were then closed, and the keys sent to the king.

The Death of the King. While such sorrowful reports came in from all parts of the country, the king lay on his deathbed, suffering most terrible pain. Bitterly did he realize his inability to help his suffering people, and to his ears came whispers that the famine was a punishment for the king's harshness. The suppressed hatred and the cry of vengeance from the many who had been deprived of their wealth gnawed at his vitals. Sorrow at the death of his queen never ceased to prey on his strength. But he bore both physical and mental suffering with "indescribable patience, and during his greatest pains tried to comfort his distressed physician," says Urban Hjärne, who now stood helpless with all his skill and learning. In 1697 Charles entered his eternal rest at the early age of forty-one years.

C. CULTURE OF THE PERIOD

Characteristics of the Seventeenth Century. Along military and political lines the seventeenth century is no doubt the greatest period in Swedish history. Its annals record the achievements of its great kings and statesmen: Charles IX, Gustavus Adolphus, Axel Oxenstiern, Charles X Gustavus, Charles XI, and the early career of Charles XII. It is also noted for progress along cultural lines, of which George Stiernhielm and Olof Rudbeck are the foremost representatives.

George Stiernhielm. Among the great literary lights of the period George Stiernhielm, the father of Swedish poetry, holds the first place. He was born in Dalecarlia in 1598 and died in Stockholm in 1672. Before his day Swedish poetry, as exemplified in the Rhymed Chronicle, differed little from prose, except in the rhyme; the lines were of unequal length and without meter, or succession of accented and unaccented syllables. Melody and rhythm were both introduced into Swedish poetry by Stiernhielm. Thus he made Swedish poetry a beautiful art. In his most celebrated poem, "Hercules," he introduces the Homeric hexameter verse into Swedish poetry.



George Stiernhielm.

This is a didactic poem, in which Lady Pleasure seeks to entice the Swedish youth into a life of sensuous gratification. The youth is about to yield and follow her, when Lady Virtue, faithful, noble goddess, appears in garb

"Simple and plain, and pure, in a manner ancient and honest."

She turns the first step of the youth from the path which leads to destruction, and prompts him to pursue, in continuous toil, the rugged path of virtue to the paradise of bliss.

Stiernhielm felt proud of belonging to Gustavus Adolphus' people and wanted to show the world that his people could accomplish something of worth even in the world of letters. Hence, with patriotic feeling he placed on the title page of a collection of songs the motto,

"The Muses now learning to write and to sing in the tongue of the Northland."

Of this world's goods Stiernhielm had little; sore adversities he had to endure, yet was ever "glad and jolly," as says one of his pupils. On his tombstone he wished to have inscribed, "Vixit dum vixit laetus" (He lived happy while he lived).

Olof Rudbeck. It was a notable day at Uppsala University when Queen Christina accompanied by a brilliant group of statesmen, native and foreign scholars, came to attend a certain learned discourse. The lecturer was the twenty-two-year-old student Olof Rudbeck, by whom a most remarkable scientific discovery was reported to have been made. He had care-

fully studied the circulation of the blood and had discovered the lymphatic system of vessels.

The learning of his professors did not satisfy his quest for knowledge. He must needs dissect and investigate everything himself. He saw what others failed to see. He divined the continuity and relationship of all nature. Such is the vision of genius. His fame soon spread over Europe.

Soon after Queen Christina's visit to Uppsala, he received from her and Axel Oxenstiern a generous allowance for a scientific sojourn in Holland, then a foremost scientific center. There he made a thorough study of the many discoveries and inventions for which that country was then noted, and rejoiced in the thought of enriching his own country with the good and useful things he saw.

Upon his return to Uppsala he invited the public to see his exhibit of plants, his models, and drawings, and to hear his description of them. But when the appointed time came he found himself alone with his collections. He burst into tears. This was his first great disappointment. But it did not quench his zeal. He announced new lectures and soon had among the students an interested body of listeners.

At the same time he carried out a long cherished plan of founding a botanical garden at the university. With a will that overcame all difficulties he started the work with his own limited means. The enterprise soon aroused the interest of Magnus De la Gardie, who from his vast resources furnished all necessary funds for enlarging and completing the work until Rudbeck could boast of the finest botanical garden in Europe, except that of Paris.

He was early appointed professor in the university. He taught not only the sciences, but also the practical application of them. He imparted instruction to future physicians, civil engineers, mining engineers, surveyors, architects, and builders. Many of the most noted generals of a later day received from him their training in the science of artillery and the art of fortification.



Olof Rudbeck.

Imperishable were the impressions of his patriotism which all his students received.

With him love of country was paramount. In his later life he devoted himself to the study of his country's history. While thus engaged the thought occurred to him that Sweden was the original home of the descendants of Japheth (the Indo-European peoples), who had entered there shortly after the flood. What Greek authors had written about the mythical Atlantis seemed to him to apply word for word to Sweden. He could not believe that all this was mere fiction. So he published his great work "*Atland eller Manhem*," in which he ingeniously seeks to prove his proposition.

The rich supply of game and fish he names as an inducement for the children of Japheth to immigrate

to Sweden. He next names as an inducement the healthful climate of the North: "The winter here," he declares, "is clear, pure, and bracing." In the South it is accompanied with "filth, fogs, and stench." The summer in the North, "both night and day, is so delightful that no place in the South can compare with it. Infectious diseases rarely reach the North, hence, people, as a rule, here reach a very great age" and acquire greater strength than people in the South. In the North "light and its charm" is richer than in the South; for in winter flame the northern lights and with the whiteness of the snow "furnish such brightness that one can travel night and day."

His contemporaries wondered and admired. Later generations were to learn that his national zeal had led him astray.

The evening of Olof Rudbeck's untiring life was approaching. It seemed calm and peaceful. Then came a crushing stroke. On the night of Ascension Day, 1702, fire broke out in Uppsala. A raging windstorm carried the flames from house to house. In the morning fire threatened the "Gustavianum," which housed within its walls the university's greatest treasure, its library.

"Then was seen on the roof of the building," says an old record, "in a shower of sparks, between tongues of flame and columns of smoke, an aged man of giant form and with gray locks fluttering in the wind. It was Olof Rudbeck, who from the smoking shingle roof directed the fire extinguishers, and whose orders, given in a stentorian voice, were distinctly heard in all directions over the din and the tumult. He was informed

that his own house was on fire, that the fruits of forty years of labor, his botanical work, the unpublished part of his *Atlantica*, and his many priceless collections were perishing in flames. But he did not desert his post, and thus was saved what could be saved by the unyielding efforts of the seventy-two-year-old man."

He saved both the treasures of the library and the beautiful cathedral. To those who deplored his own personal losses he replied: "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be His name forever." Shortly after this his busy, active life came to an end in 1702.

CHAPTER XIII

REIGN OF CHARLES XII, 1697-1718

A. INTRODUCTION

Charles Declared of Age. Again a child was king of Sweden. Charles XI had provided for a regency composed of his mother and five members of his council. But at the first Riksdag, assembled in the fall of 1697, the Estates declared the fifteen-year-old Charles of age and intrusted him with the absolute control of the kingdom. The proposition came from the nobility, who hoped by this act to ingratiate themselves with the young sovereign. They naturally supposed that it would not be hard to induce a youth of fifteen to make concessions in the matter of the Land Resumption, and that he would think it a pleasure to show generosity.

The lower estates acquiesced in the proposition, preferring to have one king instead of several.

But the nobles were soon to learn that they had thoroughly deceived themselves in this matter. The Resumption proceeded as before, and all petitions for abatement were refused. Charles was not an ordinary child. At coronations, the archbishop, at the altar, was wont to place the crown on the head of the anointed. But Charles rode to the church with his crown on, took it off when the archbishop anointed his forehead, and then with his own hand replaced it on his head. He also omitted the usual coronation oath. The Estates were astounded. Charles was now a full-fledged autocratic ruler, responsible to God alone for his acts.

His Training and Adventures. Charles XI had provided for his son's thorough education. Charles had greater ability for acquiring knowledge than his father had. In other respects the son was the father's image. The following trait is his father's over again. The



Charles XII.

young prince had once remarked that the court painter looked like a monkey. A scene followed. The father stern and commanding, the mother, mild and persuasive, tried to get the boy to change his mind. No, the boy insisted that the painter was like a monkey.

The father's love of wild sports was inherited by the son. Early the father took him along on rides and bear hunts. At twelve he shot his first bear. But by and by Charles thought it cowardly to use firearms against the forest king. He hit on the plan of arming himself and his companions with wooden forks and nothing else. A duel it should be, not a hunt. When the shaggy beast raised himself to deal a deathblow to the bold enemy, the hunter thrust the prongs of the fork about the bear's neck and pushed him over. When the bear was thus thrown on his back the rest of the party hastened to tie the legs of the animal together.

His rides were of the wildest sort, over high fences, across deep ditches, up high steeps where horse and rider would roll back in summersaults. When his companions rushed forward expecting to see him crushed, his usual remark was "Lappri" (a trifle).

Just before his seventh anniversary his teacher wrote in the boy's diary: "Make a wish of what you most like." Charles wrote: "I wish that I may some day have the good fortune to accompany my father in battle." When his teacher asked him at the age of six to describe a true gentleman, he replied: "He should be kind, but have a heart in his bosom; to his enemies bold as a lion, at home gentle as a lamb."

Charles As Ruler. Charles, however, did not allow his pleasures to interfere with his duties as king, but

performed these with great vigor, assisted by his trusted counselor Karl Piper, whom his father had recommended to him as the ablest and most reliable of his men. A remarkable knowledge of the various branches of government the young king manifested. Hence, his decisions were far more mature than one would have expected from a youth of fifteen. He had his father's stern way of treating his officials: always to command, never to argue. "I have given my order, act accordingly," he said once to some officers who tried to have him change his order.

B. THE OPENING OF THE GREAT NORTHERN WAR

Conspiracy against Charles. The three neighboring princes—Frederick IV, king of Denmark; Augustus II, elector of Saxony and king of Poland; and Peter I, called the Great, tsar of Russia—thought it opportune to attack Sweden at this time, when it was governed by an inexperienced youth and weakened by years of famine. They intended to wrest from Sweden the territories they had lost. While these princes were thus weaving their webs about Charles, they assured him of their friendship, and even suggested forming alliances with him.

The Triple Attack. But in February, 1700, Augustus invaded Livonia, and immediately Frederick of Denmark attacked Sweden's ally, the Duke of Holstein, while Peter invaded Ingria.

Charles was on a bear hunt at Kungsör, when news reached him that peace was at an end. On a nature like that of Charles this treachery made such an abhorrent

impression that he never ceased to despise these princes and never trusted them any more.

Denmark Forced to Make Peace. With confidence Charles proceeded to face the danger. He left his capital, which he was destined never to see again, to prepare in person an attack on Denmark and thus aid his ally. He landed on Seeland, where Frederick IV had not expected an attack. After a short fight the inferior forces of the enemy were driven back. There is a saying that when Charles landed and heard the bullets whiz about him, he exclaimed, "This shall henceforth be my music."

Denmark hastened to make peace with the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp in Traventhal, a castle on the Trave, in 1700. Denmark pledged herself not to molest Holstein nor assist the enemies of Sweden. Charles then left Seeland to proceed against the Russians.

C. THE WAR WITH RUSSIA

The Battle of Narva, 1700. Charles soon reached the eastern shores of the Baltic. Peter besieged the city of Narva with a force of 40,000 men. Charles advanced with an army of 10,000 men over roads made well-nigh impassable by fall rains, and through a country ravaged by the enemy. During the last four days the men had starved, and their horses had scarcely had a straw. But Charles would listen to no talk of waiting for supplies. "I know," he said, "that God is with me, and I have a righteous cause."

Just as the Swedes moved against the enemy's lines, a sudden snowstorm arose and drove the snow and sleet into the faces of the Russians, and when the

storm abated the Swedes were upon them. Panic-stricken, large numbers fled at once, others attempted to defend themselves, but without order or system.

Charles was always in the hottest of the fight at the head of his "companions," a chosen body of warriors. Twice he lost his horse. Of this a Swedish colonel writes in a letter: "His Majesty was twice down with his horse in a bog. But think how the Lord preserved him! The horse could not get out of the mire, and no one was with him, except Axel Hård, who called to two Finns for help. They pulled him out, but one boot and stocking were left in the mire. His Majesty's sword was also lost. The horse they rescued. His Majesty then put on Axel Hård's boots, minus the socks, took a sword from one of the guards, and rode thus wet and without socks all that night, in such bitter cold that many of the wounded perished from its effects." When darkness put an end to the fight, the king lay down in his wet clothes near a log-fire and fell asleep leaning his head against one of his "fellows."

Results of the Battle. The following day the Russian captives marched with uncovered heads past the scanty Swedish lines, presented arms before the king and respectfully laid them down before him. The prisoners were so many that it was impossible to guard them all. The men were permitted to march back, and only the chief officers were retained as prisoners. Ingria was saved to Sweden.

D. THE WAR WITH AUGUSTUS II

Charles Became Aggressive. Having thus repulsed the Russians, Charles turned against his third enemy, Augustus, and defeated him in the hard-fought battle of Riga, 1701. In the course of one year Charles had cleared his own and his ally's lands of enemies. Other princes now advised him to make peace. His own subjects begged for it. The country's strength had been sorely tried. Taxes were so high that in many places the people were unable to pay them. But Charles would listen to no peace with Augustus. "For since he (Augustus) has once practiced treachery the Royal Majesty can place no reliance on his word, no matter what he says," wrote Charles to his council. And to Piper, Charles said, "If we leave Augustus in possession of the throne of Poland, he will attack us in the rear when we march against Tsar Peter." Hence, Charles was fully resolved to render Augustus harmless by deposing him from the throne of Poland. Charles thus passes from the defensive to the offensive stage of the war.

The Invasion of Poland. When he was about to invade Poland, the people there warned him not to pass their border, as it was not they, but their king that had begun the war. "Very well, renounce your king then," replied Charles. But by this answer Charles had wounded their national pride and incited them to war. Should they on the demand of a foreign prince depose their king, whom by their own free choice they had elected?

This war in Poland reminds one forcibly of that of

Charles X. The Swedish forces traversed the land up and down with constant victories, often over forces several times their number. But lords of the land they never became. After three years of war Charles succeeded in inducing a part of the Polish nobility to declare Augustus deposed, and to elect Stanislaus Leszczinski, one of their own number, as king. But it required three years more to secure his general recognition.

In pursuit of Augustus toward the south, Charles was informed that his enemy had turned about and was advancing northward toward Warsaw, where there was stationed a small Swedish garrison. But Charles did not turn in pursuit. Farther south in Poland lay Lemberg with fortifications, boasting that it had never been taken by an enemy, although a Turkish army of 100,000 men had invested it for many months. This was some exploit for Charles to try. Suddenly he gave orders to his cavalry to mount and set out in a gallop, leaving his infantry and artillery behind. Soon the greater part of the cavalry dropped behind too, and the king had with him only three regiments of dragoons. With them he attacked the fortifications of Lemberg. The garrison kept up a sharp firing. The soldiers with their king at the head rushed across the trenches, sprang upon each other's shoulders, and climbed the walls. They pushed through the city gate at the same time as the fleeing garrison passed out. In a quarter of an hour the city was taken, with the loss of but a few men. The report of this incredible exploit served to increase still more, in the minds of the Poles, the fear of the Carolinians.

Invasion of Saxony. To compel Augustus himself to recognize Stanislaus Lesczinski as king of Poland, Charles finally invaded Saxony and compelled the elector to accept the Peace of Altranstädt, in 1706. Augustus abdicated the Polish throne, recognized the new king, and renounced the alliance with Sweden's foes. For his own part Charles took nothing.* He hoped now to have received in Poland a good ally and a country from which he could direct a decisive blow against Russia.

Peace was concluded, but Charles gave no signs of leaving Saxony. He had to keep an eye on Augustus and make sure of the fulfillment of the terms of peace, and at the same time to rest and recuperate his forces in the rich lands of the elector.

Here gathered in the Swedish headquarters at Altranstädt princes, generals, and ambassadors from nearly every land in Europe. Some came merely to see the celebrated hero-king, others to solicit the aid of his victorious army in the great war which was being fought in central and western Europe simultaneously with the Great Northern War. The question was who should succeed to the vacant throne in Spain. This war, in which nearly all the states in Europe were involved, is known as the War of the Spanish Succession. These gatherings at Altranstädt around Charles XII remind one of the days of Gustavus Adolphus in Mainz. It was a strange spectacle to see the richly decorated lords in silk hose and gold-embroidered vestments of satin and velvet in gaudy colors, and decked with

* Charles never declared war against any country, nor did he ever aim at adding new territory to his own.

jewels and pearls; and in their midst the northern hero in his coarse blue coat with turned skirts lined with yellow flannel, bright brass buttons, yellow riding breeches, and large dubbed-leather boots, and a broadsword at his side. Stern and silent he stood in the midst of the pomp, unmoved by all attempts to divert him from his own military plan—the Russian campaign.

E. THE WAR WITH RUSSIA CONTINUED

Peter's Conquests in the Baltic Provinces. The long war against Augustus gave Peter time to strengthen and drill his army and to ravage and conquer lands in the Baltic Provinces. In Ingria he founded in the marshes at the mouth of the Neva a new capital, St. Petersburg. Thus Russia had once more a footing on the shores of the Baltic. Charles' counselors now begged him to attack and remove this danger. But he thought himself so near the accomplishment of his cherished plan to depose Augustus. He could not now abandon this object. When informed of the fall of a certain important fortress, he simply said, "We will soon retake the castle."

Preparation for the Campaign. For his Russian war Charles had made extensive preparations. But his plans are not easily discovered. He was such a silent man. His main object, however, seems to have been to direct a decisive blow against the heart of Russia, the old sacred capital of Moscow. When, in the spring of 1708, he invaded Russia he had an army of 40,000 men. Besides, reinforcements were to arrive from Courland. This province had been conquered by

Charles and ably defended by Adam Lewenhaupt, who was now ordered by Charles to join the main army with his troops and supplies. Charles also counted on Polish auxiliaries under Stanislaus.

Peter's Plan of Defense. It soon became evident that it was impossible to march directly against Moscow, for the Russians burned their cities and crops throughout large districts so that the horizon around the Swedish army seemed to be one great blaze. Peter's plan was to fall back inch by inch, devastate the country, destroy bridges, and in every way wear out the enemy, and never allow himself to be drawn into battle with the best army of that day, for then all might be lost in a single hour. Southward lay a fertile land open to Charles, from which section, too, were good marching roads to Moscow. Here he would await Lewenhaupt. He had learned from scouts that the general was not far away. But it soon became apparent that these reports were false. Lewenhaupt had not advanced as far as was reported. But it was now too late to go to his assistance.

Lewenhaupt's Misfortunes. Lewenhaupt's army made but slow progress over roads made almost impassable by heavy fall rains. The long baggage train carrying supplies for the main army detained him as did also the obstinacy of some of his subordinates. Shortly after crossing the Dnieper he was attacked by superior Russian forces, who were repulsed again and again, but at great cost. To escape from the enemy he was at length compelled to leave his artillery and supplies behind. After untold hardships he finally reached the king's army, but with only half of his

original number—a few thousand destitute soldiers. The loss of supplies was irreparable.

New Misfortunes. But disasters did not come singly. The Russians had preceded the Swedes even southward and devastated the fertile country, rendering it unfit for winter quarters. Farther south were the rich plains of the Ukraine, the land of the Cossacks, whose aged chief, or hetman, Mazeppa, was planning an insurrection against the tsar, and offered Charles his alliance. Unfortunately, however, the Russians reached Mazeppa's capital ahead of Charles and sacked it. Thus valuable supplies of food, cannons, and ammunition fell into their hands. Of Mazeppa's men only some two thousand followed their chief. With them he came as a fugitive to the camp of Charles XII. In the meantime the Swedes wintered in the Ukraine.

In Winter Quarters. The winter of 1708–1709 was the severest ever known throughout Europe. It was especially so on the steppes of Russia. It was at its worst during the Christmas season. Never before had the soldiers had so terrible a Christmas. The suffering was intense and the losses in life and limb most terrible.

The king shared equally with the soldiers in all these sufferings, and the soldiers' admiration for him remained the same in all vicissitudes. Willingly they went wherever he ordered them. It was enough for them that he commanded it.

The Swedish forces were continually disturbed by the Russians. Almost daily in this terrible cold the king would go forth with divisions of his army in skirmishes against them. The Swedes, to be sure, came

off victors in each skirmish, but in such violent exertions more men were sacrificed than in bloody battles. Peter is said to have declared that he could well afford to sacrifice ten Russians for one Swede. What difference did it make to the Russian masses if a few thousand of them fell? Thus was the king's proud army reduced by cold, starvation, and battles to 18,000 men.

The Battle of Poltava. In the summer of 1709, Peter entrenched himself in a strong position at Poltava. Charles decided to force on him a decisive battle. To wait longer would serve no purpose, for lack of food and ammunition became more pressing each day. There was, however, one adverse circumstance. In a recent skirmish the king had been wounded in the foot, blood poison and a fever set in, and he was unable to command in person. The command was given to Field Marshal Rehnsköld who had, indeed, before won noted victories, but to fill the king's place as leader, to inspire his soldiers as he did, that no one else could do.

In this battle the Swedes, after detailing a sufficient guard for the camp and baggage, could muster only 14,000 men, while Peter had a force of more than three times that number. Nevertheless, in the first part of the battle victory seemed inclined toward the Swedes. In the second part, however, the struggle was too unequal. The Swedes fell like grass before the scythe. Whole regiments were cut down. The dear old bullet-riven flags swayed and fluttered, but finally sank down and disappeared one by one. The king had himself carried about where the bullets rained the thickest, lying with drawn sword on a litter borne by two horses in tandem fashion. When all hope of victory was gone,

Rehnsköld sought to collect all forces to protect the king. "Our infantry is ruined," he called. "Lads, see that you save the king." But immediately he was captured. Piper, too, was made a prisoner. The army was broken and scattered. At last, however, separate divisions of the cavalry made repeated attacks on the enemy and so delayed their pursuit, thus enabling the Swedish remnants to collect and move southward. Hither arrived Charles. As long as any regiment was under fire he could not be prevailed upon to withdraw from the fight. His litter was shot to pieces, men fell around him on all sides. Not until the hostile battalions were scarce fifty paces away did he allow himself to be placed on a horse, and thus he barely escaped capture, riding away "with his wounded leg resting on the pommel of the saddle and the bandage loose and dragging," as an eyewitness relates.

Exerting his utmost powers, the fever-stricken king at length succeeded in collecting the remnants of his army into an orderly retreat. But when they arrived at the junction of the Dnieper and the Vorskla there were only a few boats and barges to be had, and on either side was a broad and swift river. At any time the enemy might appear on the heights behind.

Charles did not wish to separate himself from his faithful army, but finally the officers prevailed on the half-conscious king to yield, Lewenhaupt promising to lead the army across the Vorskla into the land of the Tartars. Charles was then carried across the Dnieper together with some two thousand of his men. Across the scorching steppes the little party moved toward the shores of the Black Sea, then in the possession of

Russia's enemy, Turkey. There Charles was hospitably received by the Turkish pasha in Bender, and there he pitched his camp.

Capitulation at the Dnieper. But a tragedy had been enacted at the Dnieper. On the morning of the third day after Poltava the Swedes beheld on the heights above the river a Russian division, whose commander proposed capitulation to Lewenhaupt. After carefully considering the situation of the army and the condition of the soldiers, Lewenhaupt decided to accept the overtures, and subscribed to the articles of capitulation. Thus the Swedish army of nearly 14,000 men, including 5,000 sick and wounded, surrendered to the tsar on the promise of fair treatment.

Result of the Victory. After this victory Peter wrote: "The foundations of St. Petersburg are now secure." Once more the Russians could turn their forces against the Swedish Baltic Provinces, which fell into the hands of the Russians. Next the turn came to Finland, which they overran with fire and sword. The battle of Poltava is one of the world's decisive battles. Had it gone the other way the subsequent history of the world would have been different from what it is.

The Swedish Captives in Russia. Most of the Swedish soldiers taken captives at Poltava and the Dnieper were taken into the interior of Russia or Siberia and were quartered under strict guard in the cities. From all parts of Sweden and from nearly every larger family group there was some member captive in the far-away country with scarcely any hope of his ever returning home. Only a small part of these unfortunate soldiers had the joy of again seeing their native land.

So perished the army which at one time ranked first in the world. Among those who died in captivity were Count Piper and General Lewenhaupt.

For the officers who knew some handicraft the captivity was the most tolerable. Some earned their bread as saddlers, some as blacksmiths, others as carpenters or turners. Those who knew no trade were most unfortunate. Some were sent to St. Petersburg to work on buildings and fortifications, others to the Ural mines.

One officer writes in his diary—"Our captivity was a severe school of correction, in which we had painful lessons to learn. I admit that I had never prayed to my God so faithfully, so earnestly, so reverently as during our miserable captivity. It taught us emphatically to turn for refuge to the Lord and seek help and comfort in our distress."

The greatest force among the Swedes in Moscow was Count Piper. He became a fatherly helper for the unfortunates who with him languished in this thralldom. He wrote often to his wife and asked her to cash checks which he had issued to the destitute. As self-sacrificing as he was to the poor sufferers, so unafraid was he before his oppressors.

Not until 1721, when peace was concluded, the hour of freedom struck for the surviving Swedes in Russia. Everywhere in Russia where Swedes were found thanksgiving services were held. In the Siberian city of Tobolsk the sermon was preached on the text: "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."

F. MAGNUS STENBOCK'S CAMPAIGN IN SKÅNE

Renewal of Hostilities by Augustus and Frederick. Augustus II and Frederick IV had long watched for an opportunity for revenge. It came in 1709, when they again declared war. Augustus drove out Stanislaus and once more seized the crown of Poland. The Danes landed in Skåne and were soon masters of the whole province.

Battle of Helsingborg. Before the Ukraine campaign Charles had sent home his general, Magnus Stenbock to be provincial governor and chief commander in Skåne. With remarkable dispatch the council, now governing Sweden in the king's absence, levied a new army against the Danish invaders. With the uniforms, indeed, it was so so, for some came in their peasant clothes, some in goatskin coats and wooden shoes fastened on with bast fiber. The Danes made merry over this motley army, but Stenbock knew that his men and boys were brave and efficient fighters.

Stenbock had to act quickly, for he knew that his forces were not prepared for a winter campaign. Hence, as soon as possible he marched from Småland, where his forces met, into Skåne. Shrewdly he succeeded in leading the enemy from the interior of Skåne toward the Sound by feigning to cut them off from the Sound and from their connection with their home country. This led the Danish commander to hasten with his forces to Helsingborg.

Stenbock now gathered his men for a decisive blow. If any of his boys looked a little discouraged he would lift up his chin and say, "Look bold, my boy, and the

Danes will run away from you." So it turned out. In the battle of Helsingborg, 1710, he routed the Danes after a short and sharp engagement, in which a large part of the Danish army fell or were taken prisoners. The rest returned to their home. Since then the Danes have never crossed the Sound as enemies.

G. CHARLES XII IN TURKEY

Reason for His Stay in Turkey. While the Swedish possessions on the east side of the Baltic fell into the hands of the enemy, Charles continued his sojourn in a foreign land. His first intention was no doubt to remain in Turkey till his wound was healed. But soon the thought occurred to him that he might employ the enmity of Turkey toward Peter, who had seized important Turkish territories along the Black Sea. Thus there appeared to Charles the inviting prospect of returning to Russia at the head of a strong Turkish army. With this he hoped to conquer Peter and to crush his power.

War between Turkey and Russia. The northern fugitives succeeded, indeed, in prevailing on the sultan to declare war on Russia. At the Pruth, Peter with his army was surrounded by a far superior Turkish force, and would have been ruined if the Turkish commander had exerted himself. But he was weak and easily frightened, and Peter understood the art of negotiating. So he secured peace on easy terms. Charles, however, did not give up hope, but remained to continue his efforts. He did not succeed, however, in getting any further war under way. .

The Sultan's Efforts to Get Rid of Charles. The Swedish king and his men were expensive guests to the sultan. He let it be known to Charles that however much he appreciated his highly esteemed guest he would prefer to have him depart. But Charles had discovered a secret correspondence, showing that Augustus II had bribed the commander of the guards whom the sultan would furnish Charles as an escort to deliver Charles into the hands of Augustus.

The sultan, however, knew nothing of this plot. He only noticed that Charles remained obstinate, and got offended. At last he ordered the pasha of Bender to force Charles to depart for home. But Charles, who would rather fall into the hands of the Turks than into the power of Augustus, prepared for defense and raised palisades in front of his quarters outside of Bender. Ten thousand Turks and Tartars were sent against the Northern Lion and his 500 men.

The Kalabalik. Charles went out to fight them, but most of his men, convinced of the futility, laid down their arms. With a band of about fifty of his most faithful champions he defended himself in his house. The Turks then attacked the house with arrows wrapped in flaming tow. The building caught fire and parts of the roof fell in. But the king only remarked, "There is no danger as long as our clothes are not afire." Finally when smoke and flames enveloped the king and his men, Charles decided to fight his way to a stone building and there continue the defense. The doors were thrown open and out rushed the king with the sword in his right hand and a pistol in his left, followed by his men. They had forced their way nearly

to the stone structure when Charles stumbled and fell. A number of Turks then fell on him and made him a prisoner. His men shared his fate. This event, which occurred in Bender in 1713, was called by the Turks The Kalabalik, which means tumult. Charles was now conveyed as a captive of the sultan, still farther from home, to a castle near Adrianople, but was treated even in captivity with admiration and respect.

The Return Home of Charles XII. At home the Swedish government was conducted by the councilors. They had long bombarded the king with petitions to return home. Finally they ventured to summon the Estates, who sent a messenger to the king to inform him that in case of necessity they would open negotiations for peace on such terms as they might obtain. Then Charles realized that it was hazardous to delay any longer. A dark November night, 1714, two bespattered knights arrived at the gate of Stralsund. One of them was the king of Sweden. The two adventurers had ridden 1,400 miles in fourteen days, during which time they had not once slept in a bed.

At this time two additional states joined the enemies of Sweden. They were Prussia and Hanover. They had allied themselves with Denmark to divide the Swedish possessions in Germany among them. Hanover was a dangerous enemy, as its elector was also king of England. The allies gathered their forces around Stralsund. The small Swedish garrison made desperate sorties under the king's own command. A rain of balls and bombs fell over the city. When the walls were so shot to pieces that the city could in no way defend itself, Charles decided to attempt escape

from capture. He boarded a small boat. All around were Danish warships, but they paid no attention to the little craft, and safe and unharmed Charles landed on the shores of Skåne, a year after his arrival at Stralsund. The day after his departure the city surrendered. The next year Wismar fell. Sweden had now no land on the southern side of the Baltic.

H. CONDITIONS IN SWEDEN AFTER CHARLES' RETURN

Complete Destitution. Peace, peace was the earnest prayer to the king from every Swedish heart as he, after an absence of fifteen years of dangers and adventures in foreign lands, now returned home. The people fainted under the heavy burdens of taxes and levies of soldiers for the war. In some provinces complaints arose, even during the first years of the war, that only old and decrepit men, and women and children were left. How much worse must it have been after the calamities of 1709 and subsequent years! But the people had to fill the vacant places of fallen men and captives. Many a peasant at last had no means for hiring a substitute and had to go himself, leaving his home and land wasted. A Hollander, who traveled from Skåne to Stockholm in 1719, expressed his astonishment at what he saw. He found only old men, women, and children serving as coachmen. "I can truthfully say," he declared, "that I have not seen in all Sweden any man between twenty and forty years of age, except soldiers." To crown the calamity Sweden suffered from failure of crops seven different times during the reign of Charles. Large masses died of hunger. In the wake

of famine came the Asiatic plague. The victims of these calamities are estimated at 100,000.

But in spite of all, the people showed a wonderful willingness to sacrifice. In the spring of 1718, for instance, a provincial governor reported to the government that the people of the province had sold their grain to pay the taxes till they had nothing to subsist on nor anything to sow. Similar reports came in from practically all the provinces.

But in spite of willingness there was a limit to the ability to pay. The national income sank from year to year. Charles, however, had to find means for carrying on the war; for he was determined not to yield to any power an inch of territory without compensation. "The Lord will always give success when one bravely does what he ought to to," he said.

Baron Görtz's Token Money. The man who now came forward to show Charles what to do was Baron Görtz of Holstein. Never at a loss, never afraid to use the most violent means, Baron Görtz was just the man for minister to Charles XII, who would never listen to such a word as "impossible." The means Baron Görtz employed to secure funds was in the first place token money. It consisted of copper coins which were to pass for silver money. When better times came, the government would redeem them in silver coin.

These tokens were at first received willingly and the king was enabled to buy at a small cost the supplies and equipment for a new army. But when millions upon millions of these tokens flooded the land, it became evident to most people that the government could never redeem them in silver. Merchants began to ask

more for their goods if paid in tokens than when paid in silver. Then the king forbade the use of silver money in trade. All silver coin and bullion must be turned over to the crown in exchange for copper coins. In like manner the king seized all iron and paid for it in token money. In the same way the government appropriated a lot of other private property. The whole country was treated like a besieged city, where all private property may be used for defense. But it was a matter of holding out till a tolerable peace be concluded and an alliance made with one of the more powerful of the enemies. And a good prospect for this appeared in sight, as the allied enemies seemed ready to fly at each other's throats.

I. WAR IN NORWAY, 1718

Siege of the Fortress of Fredrikssten. With the utmost efforts of the entire country, Charles had succeeded in collecting an army of 50,000 men. With this force he invaded Norway to compel Denmark to make peace and to secure compensation for losses on the other side of the Baltic. The Swedes drove the Norwegians almost without opposition across the Glommen. But there the Fortress of Fredrikssten, at Fredrikshald, was still in the hands of the Norwegians. The Swedes surrounded it with trenches and batteries, and soon one of the outer works was stormed. The king as usual was foremost in the fight. Soon, it seemed, the fort would be taken.

The King's Death. In the afternoon of November 30, the king came as usual to inspect the work. He climbed

up on one side of a trench so that his head and shoulders appeared above the parapet. Thus he stood with the head leaning on his left hand and viewed the fortress. Bullets rained on all sides. The officers present warned him in vain not to expose himself to such danger. Suddenly they heard a faint sound and noticed that the king's hand fell, and his head sank into the collar of his cloak. A bullet had pierced his temple. This bullet put an end to Sweden's period of greatness.

Charles received the death he had so often defied. Soon rumors spread that he had been the victim of a traitor. After careful investigations, no real grounds for such rumors have ever been found. But the rumors have lived on to our own day. The camp had been Charles' home. A quiet family life did not appeal to him. No woman won his love. Of marriage he never wished to hear as long as he was engaged in war.

CHAPTER XIV

REIGNS OF ULRICA ELEONORA AND FREDERICK I, 1719-1751

A. INTRODUCTION

The Succession and the End of Absolutism. At the death of Charles XII there was no one who had a legal hereditary right to the throne. His two sisters had married without the consent of the Estates. There was, however, one matter on which all were agreed, that no matter who succeeded to the throne, absolutism should be abolished. It was held to be the great evil which had

brought the country to the verge of destruction. Hence, Charles' surviving sister, Ulrica Eleonora, hastened to offer to renounce absolutism if the crown were bestowed on her. Her husband, Prince Frederick of Hesse, had persuaded her to take this unpleasant step. She was accordingly, at a Riksdag in 1719, chosen queen by the Estates. She was, however, compelled to subscribe to a new constitution, which not only abolished absolutism, but went to the other extreme and left the royal power weaker than it had ever been since the Middle Ages.

The Execution of Baron Görtz. At the same time that absolutism was abolished, the death sentence was passed upon its most hated instrument. The vengeance of the people was aroused, and demanded Baron Görtz as a victim for the sins of absolutism. He was tried by a special court, which summarily sentenced him to death for plans ruinous to the state, without giving him the necessary time for defense.

The Crown Transferred to Frederick. Ulrica Eleonora was an estimable woman, devoted to the welfare of her country. But she had imbibed the spirit of absolutism and failed to understand the new era. Her acts depended more on what she had conceived in her mind than what the law prescribed. She was sincerely devoted to her husband and desired above everything else to see him king of Sweden. The Estates made no objection to the proposition and chose Frederick I as king in 1720.

This petty German prince was of a cheerful and lively disposition, which made him very popular. But he seemed to live only for amusement and pleasure.

To work for his faithful people and help them out of their distress was a matter entirely foreign to his thoughts. No, "Live and let live" was his maxim. As he grew older he was given more and more to pleasure, idleness, and slackness, and the people's love was gradually changed to contempt.

B. THE END OF THE GREAT WAR. PEACE TREATIES

Continued Attacks and Ravages by the Enemies. The cry of the people for peace became stronger and stronger during the last years of absolutism. One only had stood in the way of the wishes of a whole people, only one, he who "could not yield, only fall." His war plans fell with him. During nearly two decades his people had bled away their strength on battle fields over half of Europe. Where could now be found the power or the will for war to win back the lost possessions, when the people were practically starving to death?

The enemies would not allow the exhausted land any rest. The western coast was harassed by the brave Norwegian sea captain, Tordenskjöld. He did much harm to Sweden. But the Russian ravages along the Baltic coasts were the worst. From the coasts of East Gothland up to the northernmost point of Norrland the Russian fleet plundered and burnt nearly all the cities and many factories and villages. They set fire to forests, destroyed the crops, and carried off or killed the stock. The people thus ravaged had during twenty years borne the burdens of a continuous war.

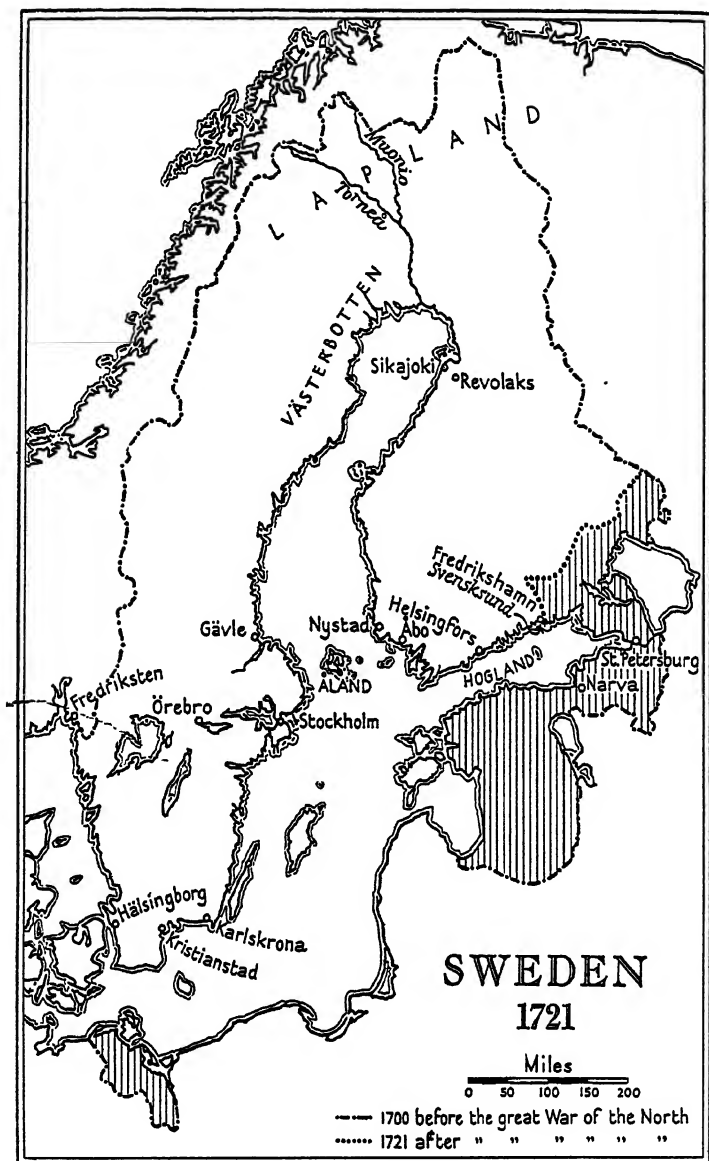
The Peace Treaties. No foreign aid could be expected. Sweden had to conclude peace with her many ene-

mies by separate treaties on the best terms she could secure. To England-Hanover were ceded Bremen and Verden in 1719 (at Stockholm). Prussia received the Southern part of Swedish Pomerania in 1720 (Stockholm). With Denmark peace was made without loss of territory in 1720 (Fredriksborg), but Sweden was forced to give up her exemption from tolls in Öresund and abandon her alliance with the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. Without aid, without resources, and for the third summer attacked by the tsar's incendiaries, Sweden had finally no other recourse than to submit to Russia's hard conditions of peace. In the Treaty of Nystad, 1721, Sweden ceded to Russia Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and southeastern Carelia.

Sweden had thus at last secured peace. But what a peace! The fruits of a century and a half of struggle to secure and maintain a Swedish Baltic power were lost. Sweden had alone sustained the first thrust of the westward advance of the Russian Colossus. Alone, too, she had to conclude the hard struggle which civilized Europe should have united to sustain. But the shortsighted policy of the other states was in the course of time to avenge itself.

C. CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGISLATIVE REFORMS

The New Constitution. This constitution, adopted in 1719, and somewhat modified in 1720, upon the accession of Frederick I, and the regulations of the Riksdag in 1723, took the power from the king and vested it in the Estates. They alone had the power to levy taxes, make laws, and decide all other matters of importance. They assumed control of foreign relations during ses-



sions of the Riksdag. They interfered in the administration of justice, questions of promotions, appointments, etc. For any one claiming to have been wronged could lay his complaints before them. How much power the king had relative to the Estates is shown in Frederick's declaration that he would "ever concur with the Estates of the realm."

Between the meetings of the Riksdag, the councilors acted for the Estates. They had been nominated by the Estates and were accountable to them for their acts. All important matters in the council were decided by vote, each councilor having one vote and the king two. His Majesty, therefore, had as much power as two of the seventeen councilmen. In former days the king did not even have to consult his council. In reality Sweden was now ruled as a republic, whose president was styled king.

Hence, the king was now subject to the Council, and the Council to the all-powerful Estates. By the abolition of absolutism, it was now held, the old Swedish liberty had been restored, and so the period now ushered in has been called the Era of Liberty.

Kings had been seen to abuse their power, councilors had abused theirs, but that the Estates might also abuse their power was not suspected.

The New General Code of Laws. For more than a hundred years the government had been considering the plan of preparing a new general code of laws. The law that had been most excellent in the time of Magnus Ericsson could not remain so when everything else in the kingdom had changed. It is true that the general law of the realm had been issued in a new edition after

a hundred years in the reign of Christopher of Bavaria, and, hence, called the Code of King Christopher, but the changes in it were few and unimportant, and for the cities the law remained unchanged. Finally, however, learned jurists were appointed to prepare a new code. After some thirty years of labor the new code was adopted by the Estates in 1734. It was the general as well as the local law of the realm. It is still in force though many improvements have been made in it. It contains no regulation for king and government as this was supplied by the Constitution of 1720.

The constitution and the regulations of the Riksdag were known as fundamental laws, as all other laws were based on them. The fundamental laws defined the relations of the government to the people; the code, or general law, regulated the mutual relations of individuals.

Both on account of its contents and its clear, vigorous statements, the code of 1734 is a worthy heir of the old provincial laws of the land. These masterpieces of Teutonic jurisprudence are among the most valuable treasures of Swedish culture.

D. THE ADMINISTRATION OF ARVID HORN

Character of Arvid Horn. The most powerful person during this period was not the king, but the president of the chancery department. This office, which corresponds to the chancellorship during the period of greatness, was held after the accession of Frederick I for eighteen years by Arvid Horn. He had distinguished himself as one of the bravest of Charles' "champions," and of the most reckless participants in

the king's adventures. But now he showed a remarkable capacity for works of peace. When the new era opened, he was by common consent the man to direct the affairs of state. He was then nearly sixty years of



Arvid Horn.

age. The reckless leader in wild adventures had become a wise and cautious statesman.

His personal appearance inspired respect. There was dignity and honor about his personality and his life and conduct. He never neglected the ancient custom of conducting evening worship with all his household, even if ministers of state or other noted persons were

present. Foreign ministers in reports to their home governments mentioned, often with surprise, Horn's uprightness and absolute proof against bribes, a rare virtue in that day.

Arvid Horn's Policy. Arvid Horn saw clearly that what Sweden most needed was peace and rest for recuperation. At the death of Charles XII there were many deserted homesteads throughout the country. Even in so rich a province as Skåne there were nearly 1,000. In Österbotten, a poorer province, there were about 2,000. The suffering in some places was so great that the government gave starving parishes permission to get bark from the crown forests for the relief of the starving.

Posterity finds it hard to understand how a small people like that of Sweden at the time could bear all the burdens and privations of the great war and not perish completely. But hardly less remarkable is the rapid awakening of the people out of the stupor of despair which the last years had cast over their lives and minds. Buildings rose again out of the ashes of burnt cities, ruined factories were alive once more with busy workmen, and on deserted homesteads plows were again turning furrows.

It was to Arvid Horn in the first place that the credit is due for Sweden's long period of rest and peace. With skillful statesmanship he removed every occasion for war. His administration was not a time of great and stirring events, but a quiet, happy time, when the country could revive after its violent overexertion and gather strength for peaceful pursuits. In his efforts to secure prosperity to Sweden and develop her industries

Horn was ably assisted by two noted patriots and inventors: Jonas Alströmer and Christopher Polhem.

Jonas Alström was the son of a poor merchant in Alingsås. As a mere boy he was forced to leave home and earn his own livelihood. At first he served as a shop boy and later as a bookkeeper in London. There he soon engaged in business of his own and became a wealthy man.

It grieved him to see his countrymen, as he himself writes, "send their money to foreign lands for goods which they could just as well produce at home." This thought fostered within him a burning desire to introduce into Sweden the industries which had made England prosperous and great.

First, however, he visited the more important industrial countries, inspecting their factories, especially those of the spinning and weaving industries. He carefully noted their methods and the latest improvements in the various establishments. On these journeys he purchased such instruments and machinery as were then in use, and secured skilled workmen, who could serve as instructors of his inexperienced countrymen.

He chose his native city as the central location of his industrial enterprise. Alingsås soon put on the appearance of a new city. Its population grew apace with its textile mills and dye works. The most important products of the mills were woolen fabrics. To secure the best quality of wool he introduced improved breeds of sheep. For his dye works he planted large areas about the city with tinctorial plants from the South. The city became an industrial school for the

whole country, where persons were trained for supervising works in other places.

Alström had, however, not the same aptitude for directing and supervising his enterprises as for starting them. The workmen and the foremen did not get the same thorough training as in other lands. Hence, the products of his mills were inferior and yet dearer than those imported from abroad. It was therefore difficult to secure a market for them. But it must be remembered that Swedish industries were still in their infancy. It was a time of experiment. Later times were to profit even by early mistakes.

Alström's greatest service to his country was perhaps his untiring effort to make the potato generally known and accepted as an article of food among his countrymen. It required several generations to overcome the prejudice against this most important of vegetable foods.

For his great services to his country Alström was ennobled. He then assumed the name Alströmer.

Christopher Polhem. At the age of twelve Christopher Polhem was left alone in the world. He was given a position on a large estate and thus earned his living. Through his untiring industry and iron will he developed his genius until he became, after Olof Rudbeck, Sweden's greatest inventor up to his time. For the Falun mine he made an invention by which the ore was carried to the shaft, then up the same, and thence to the smelter where the car was automatically emptied through a movable bottom, and then returned to the mine to be refilled. All this was done by water power. Manual labor was required only for the load-

ing. Encouraged by Charles XI, he made many other inventions.

On a journey abroad he made many valuable observations. It pained him to see that foreign manu-



Christopher Polhem.

facturers bought Swedish raw materials at a low price and then returned them as finished products at greatly increased prices. Upon his return home he devoted himself to establishing mills and factories for the economic and social uplift of his people. Among these the most noted was the Stjernsund Factory in Dalecarlia. Among its manufactures were

watches of different kinds and tin plate for various uses, such as roofing, plates, cups, and pitchers. His machines for the making of watches were the admiration of the age.

From Bender Charles XII sent greetings to Polhem encouraging him to continue his inventions, adding that he himself was greatly interested in mechanics.

Shortly after his arrival at Stralsund, Charles sent orders to Polhem to come, bringing his plans and models. With enthusiasm Charles entered into all his plans for the improvement of his country. His greatest project was the construction of a waterway across

Sweden from Stockholm to Gothenburg. Charles entered eagerly into this project, declaring that after five years all would be completed. The work had barely begun when the shot at Fredrikshald put an end to the enterprise.

A mere list of Polhem's inventions would fill many pages. He was filled with an earnest desire to serve his fellow men. His life ended in 1751.

Rise of a War Party. Fall of Arvid Horn. In measures limiting the royal power the Estates had been unanimous, but in other matters there was little harmony among them. As soon as the people had recovered strength after the ruin of the great war, many began to talk of renewing the war with Russia and regaining the territories lost by the treaty of Nystad in 1721. A new generation had arisen, which gloried in the victories and the achievements of the past, but forgot its defeats, its sorrows, and its hardships. The new generation burned with a desire to avenge itself upon its hereditary enemy to the east. But the old and cautious statesman at the helm must first be removed.

To undermine his influence and make him unpopular first among the people and then with the Estates, the war enthusiasts circulated the report that he was pro-Russian, which was the worst thing that could be said about any one in Sweden at that time. The truth was that Horn did not wish to rush his country into war before it had regained its strength, and its defenses had been restored. But the young and inexperienced enthusiasts would take fortune by storm, and glory and lands would be theirs.

In the first place the war party had to win over a majority of the Estates that met in a Riksdag in 1738; for these could compel Horn to resign from his position. The members were entreated and urged and even bribed with free entertainments and money supplied by Russia's enemy, France. Abusive pamphlets were circulated against the venerable and cautious Horn and his party. The war party designated their opponents as "Nightcaps," while they assumed the name of "Hats." The hat had from of old been a symbol of manliness and freedom. Thus arose the party names of *Hats* and *Caps*, which maintained themselves to the end of the Era of Liberty. By such methods did the Hat party force Horn to retire. His friends in the Council were dismissed, and Hats were appointed in their places.

E. THE WAR WITH RUSSIA, 1741-1743

Rise of the War Spirit. A new period was ushered in. The rest and peace which the land had enjoyed for nearly twenty years had come to an end. Sweden was now to become great and powerful again in one stroke. The Hats had promised it. But the people were not ready to take up the sword again. They did not yet feel strong enough to engage in so dangerous a play. But an event occurred shortly after the adjournment of the Riksdag which aroused the people and kindled their anger against Russia to white heat. The Estates had sent a certain Major Malcolm Sinclair to Turkey to negotiate an alliance with that country against Russia. On his return home with important documents regarding the alliance, he was attacked in Sile-

sia by a band of horsemen sent by the Russian government, was dragged from the highway, robbed, and murdered. A popular song, "Sinclairsvisan," giving the account of the foul murder, was composed, circulated, and sung throughout all Sweden, arousing hot indignation and a burning desire for revenge. It ended with this challenge:

"And, therefore, heroes, brave and good,
With heart within your bosom,
Avenge ye Malcolm Sinclair's blood,
Which Kuthler shed, most gruesome!"

Proud memories from the days of Charles XII and his champions were revived, and bitter memories, too, of the sufferings of fathers and kinsmen in the long captivity under the hated foe. And now—"Up and avenge these sufferings and the murder of an innocent man!"

The Declaration of War. In 1741 the Riksdag declared war. The army was not equipped for defense, much less for attack. But what mattered such trifles! The objective was clearly understood. The least that would satisfy the patriots was the conquest of south-eastern Carelia and St. Petersburg with surrounding territory. Thus in dreams the people were back once more in the glorious days of Gustavus Adolphus. In the name of the Estates a report was made of the condition of the country. There was a general song of rejoicing over the courage of the Estates, and the evident fact that Providence was shaping events to the plan and wishes of the Estates.

The Opening of the War. The war opened in the fall of 1741 with a defeat of the Swedes near the Russian border. The loss of life in this battle, however, was not as great as that in the winter quarters of 1741-42. The soldiers suffered from poor and insufficient food. For a long period they had to camp in dugouts, dark and damp, where the clothes molded and rotted on their bodies. What wonder that sickness and death raged!

Insubordination in the Army. But there was a worse evil in the army even than sickness, and that was insubordination. The commander in chief was Charles Emil Lewenhaupt. He had been one of the "champions" of Charles XII, and that was sufficient evidence of his bravery. His honest and frank bearing and his stately appearance won him many friends and supporters. At the Riksdag in which the war was declared, he presided in the Estate of the nobles and was one of the most zealous supporters of that measure. But all this did not necessarily prove his fitness for the chief command.

In one of the many pamphlets published after the Riksdag we read: "Where can we find in our army today the subordination that existed in the days of Charles XII? Will not each ensign, if corrected by the general, at once think of the equality existing among the peerage?" It was a striking prediction of what happened in the army. Officers of noble rank found it difficult to see in Lewenhaupt the general instead of the president of their Estate and their party leader. All the members of the Estate wished to command, no one would obey. They were not able to do the simple and necessary thing, to hold their peace and do their

duty. And the commander was not the man to teach them the lesson. When a subsequent Riksdag was summoned, the officers left their command to engage in the less strenuous and more agreeable task of attending the Riksdag. The soldiers despised their officers and imitated their insubordination.

The Capitulation in Helsingfors. Under such circumstances the campaign of 1742 became one continuous retreat from one strong position to another at the mere mention of the approach of the enemy. At Helsingfors the Swedes should have been able to defend themselves, but the army was in a state of dissolution, and the commander could do nothing but subscribe to the Capitulation of Helsingfors in 1742, by which the Swedish forces withdrew from Finland. Of the soldiers transported to Finland only one-third returned home, the rest had perished from sickness, want, and exposure. Only a small part had fallen in battle. Thus, for instance, in the report of one regiment, in which the losses were 700, only two had fallen in battle.

The Treaty of Åbo, 1743. By this treaty Sweden ceded to Russia a small strip of southeastern Finland, east of Lake Saima and the River Kymmene. But the easy terms were purchased by the election of Adolph Frederick, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, a kinsman of Empress Elizabeth of Russia, as heir to the Swedish throne. Ulrica Eleonora had died during the war, 1741, leaving no heir to the throne.

Such were the results of the efforts of the Hats to recover southeastern Finland and conquer St. Petersburg.

F. RECOVERY AND SERVICES OF THE HAT PARTY

Victims of the War Failures. The Hats had greatly reduced the power of the realm and changed the military glory of Sweden into the laughing-stock of the world. The great mass of the people had now had their eyes opened and saw with a shudder how the kingdom was led on to destruction. But the Hats succeeded at the Riksdag in saving themselves by throwing the blame for the failure of the war on Lewenhaupt and his assistant Buddenbrock. By the execution of these two victims the mistakes of the Hats were expiated. But the real causes of the unhappy issue of the war were of a deeper nature.

Attitude of the Empress Elizabeth toward Sweden. With difficulty the Hats thus succeeded in maintaining their leadership. They had bought the safety of Sweden by placing it under the influence of its enemy in choosing as heir to the throne one whom none of them knew or had even thought of before. Empress Elizabeth had no doubt assumed that the prince who owed his appointment to her would remain her ever grateful tributary king. Both she and her ambassador in Sweden assumed a tone toward Sweden as if it were already a subject kingdom of Russia. The insolence reached its climax when she had her ambassador administer to Adolph Frederick a reproof in which she complained that the heir to the throne had taken as friends and counselors persons who were unfriendly to Russia, although all the world knew he owed his election to her. And if he would not change his ways she would be compelled to "discontinue her friendly efforts in behalf

of His Royal Highness." At the same time a division of the Russian fleet threatened the southern coast of Finland. This occurred during the Riksdag of 1746.

But under these national insults, the Hats showed themselves in a new and better light. They inspired the Estates to give utterance to their patriotic resentment in a national declaration, which was embodied in a decree of the Riksdag. It declared that as they had of their own free will chosen His Royal Highness as heir to the Swedish throne, so they pledged themselves to defend him and his heirs with life and blood and estate.

This declaration was a bitter morsel for Her Imperial Majesty, but it inspired the Russians with a new respect for Sweden. To the Hats their brave and determined attitude opened up a new period. Their days of youthful delirium were past. They were no longer an irresponsible war party. Their efforts were now bent toward their country's inner development and outward independence. It was the underlying principles of Arvid Horn's administration restored to honor with some changes, as we shall see.

Defensive Works of the Hats. In one respect their administration was an improvement on Horn's. They made it an object to strengthen the national defenses, for which Horn had lacked the necessary means. For Finland's defense the able engineer Augustin Ehrensvärd constructed a fort and naval station on the islands off Helsingfors, which received the proud name of Sveaborg. To prevent a repetition of the awful ravages during the days of the great war, the Estates

ordered the building of a coast flotilla to operate with land forces for coast protection.

Count Karl Gustav Tessin. The Hats had thus won the confidence of well-nigh the whole people and were more powerful than ever. Under their leadership Sweden was again united for common defense. Their foremost man, the president of the chancery, was Count Gustav Tessin. He was the Magnus De la Gardie of his day. Like the latter he was a brilliant man of the world, with the same warm interest in art and learning, which he generously supported. As an orator he was one of the foremost of his time. At the court in Paris, with its dazzling splendor, its elegant salons, he had had his training, and had there lived as a Frenchman. In his own country he had infused this love of everything French in all lines from politics and literature to the culinary arts. A great statesman he was not; for this, he was too hot-tempered, too ready to believe what he wished to believe, and thought too much of what was brilliant and appealing. In his merits and defects he was a type of his age and of the Hat party.

G. INDUSTRIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Development Policies of the Hat Party. When the Hat party came to power in 1738, there was a change not only in politics, but also in industrial life. To raise Sweden once more to a great power was but one of the party's aims. With equal zeal they took up the second great aim: to make Sweden wealthy and strong. This had, indeed, been an aim of all good administrations,

but none had carried the efforts to such extremes as the Hat party.

They especially encouraged industries by granting privileges. All who would establish factories or mills were given free building grounds and free timber for buildings, machinery, and tools. When ready to start the industry, the manufacturer could count on a loan from the crown and then premiums on work done. Then, too, manufacturers were protected from foreign competition. The importation of goods which could be produced in sufficient quantities at home was prohibited, and heavy duties were imposed on other goods which could be produced at least in part at home.

This encouragement of industries by the government awakened enterprise and initiative among the people, which had been seriously lacking before. Everybody wished to assist in the upbuilding of the fatherland. And factories sprang up like mushrooms throughout the country. The textile industry especially developed on a grand scale notwithstanding the fact that the application of steam power had not yet come into use. With patriotic enthusiasm the Estates agreed at the first Riksdag at which the Hat party was in power "that after a certain time they would wear no other clothing than such as had been produced at home." Among the nobility this resolution was hailed with applause.

But this policy had a darker side. The tax-paying and consuming public were the victims. Prices rose while goods deteriorated. Under this system the industries were hothouse plants, of which many shoots were doomed to pine away. But in spite of many errors, the

Estates of this period have the undisputed credit of having created Sweden's first more important industries.

Commerce and Navigation. The ultimate object of this legislation for industry and commerce was to enable Sweden to produce everything that its people needed, and thus make the country independent of foreigners. This object should be gained by trying in every way to increase the exports and diminish the imports. In this way more and more money would remain at home. By calculations, which, however, were deceptive, it appeared, during the early part of the period, that the country's imports exceeded the exports by millions of crowns. Extreme poverty and even disaster seemed imminent.

During Horn's administration an act was passed forbidding foreign nations to carry into Sweden other goods than those of their own production. Soon all imports of salt came from the Mediterranean lands, and grain from the Baltic lands, carried in Swedish bottoms. In Horn's day, too, there was founded in Gothenburg the Swedish East India Company, which during the Hat administration carried on a prosperous trade with East India and China, and brought home large cargoes of silk, chinaware, tea, coffee, spices, and other Oriental products. Some years the profits rose to a hundred per cent and over. With gratification the Hats could show that the turnover of Swedish trade had more than doubled since the first decade of the period, and that the greater part of the foreign trade was now in Swedish hands, and best of all, that the exports exceeded the imports by several million crowns.

Sweden had never before witnessed such a development.

Cultural Development. Of the highest permanent value, however, were the achievements of the period in Literature and Science. The large number of eminent men, thinkers and writers, who now appeared made this period pre-eminently an age of culture. Of these only a few can here be mentioned.

For material culture there labored such men as Christopher Polhem and Jonas Alströmer, already referred to. In Literature and History there was Olov von Dalin; in Botany, the world-famous Carl von Linné, or Linnæus; in Mathematics and Astronomy, Anders Celsius; in Chemistry, Torbern Bergman and Karl Wilhelm Schéele; in Mathematics and Astronomy, Physics and Mechanics, Chemistry, Geology, and Philosophy, the gentle and kindly Emanuel Swedenborg.

Olof von Dalin. In 1732 appeared the first Swedish periodical that was read with general interest. It was "The Swedish Argus" (Then Swänska Argus), whose editor had determined to let his fellow countrymen see their faults and follies face to face. Never, perhaps, has a paper been received with more enthusiasm than this little sheet issued weekly. A contemporary relates a generation later: "Most of us remember even today with what longing we waited for the day on which this little paper usually made its appearance, and how eagerly we devoured its contents even as a hungry man at table." And when after two years the paper was discontinued the whole country "sorrowed as over the death of some national benefactor."

How curious people were to know who the witty

editor was! But no one suspected that it was a poor young man of twenty-four, Olof Dalin, who aimed at the betterment of his age. When his identity became known, however, the Estates rewarded him with the appointment as librarian of the royal library, an unusual distinction for one so young.

Dalin strove to make people better, happier, and more efficient citizens by the spread of useful knowledge. *The Argus* treated its readers even to such matters, presented in a simple and interesting manner, and in language that could be comprehended by everybody. Such a movement of enlightenment spread over all Europe during the eighteenth century. Before this, treasures of knowledge had been confined to the learned few. The heavy tomes of knowledge, written in Latin, were stowed away in the libraries of the learned. With the life outside they had nothing to do. But now of a sudden there appeared in the writings of scholars much that was of interest to the masses, much that would lead them to think of life and its problems, give them a keener insight into things, and emancipate them from superstition and old prejudices. There was, therefore, a general effort at enlightenment, and, hence, this period in European history has been called the Age of Illumination. In Sweden Dalin was the first to bring out the light of learning from the seclusion of the study or the laboratory.

Dalin's power to narrate in a simple and interesting way characterizes his Swedish History. Before this, books on Swedish history were so dry that only men of learning could endure to read them. Dalin removed History from the book-shelf to the hearts and minds

of his people. As a poet he was also greatly admired. His songs and ballads spread throughout the whole country and were sung to popular and well-known melodies.

His language was simple and pure. People today can read his works without any difficulty. Therefore, Dalin's *Argus* introduced a new period in the Swedish language and literature, known as Modern Swedish. He was ennobled and assumed the name Von Dalin.

Carl von Linné. In 1707, in the beautiful month of May, there was born to the curate of Råshult, in Småland, a son, who received the name of Sweden's hero king, Carl. It was at the time when Sweden and her king were at the height of power and glory. The little child in the cradle was to grow up and become king in the realm of flowers and make his land honored when its political greatness was at an end.

After a year his father became the pastor of the parish and moved into the rectory of Stenbrohult. Both parents were kind and devout people and great lovers of flowers. With his own hands the pastor planted at Stenbrohult an orchard and flower garden which became the finest in all Småland. Here the parents spent their leisure moments, and flowers became little Carl's dearest playthings. Even as an infant he would immediately stop crying if a flower were put in his hand. When he was old enough to talk he gave his father no rest, asking the name of every kind of flower and plant in the garden, some of which the father did not know. This Linnæus in his old age tells of himself. It is touching to read how the aged botanist, with all his honors, longed for his childhood's happy days again.

But how short is that period! At the age of seven he was taken from home, from his parents and his dear friends, the flowers, and sent to school in Vexiö.



Carl von Linné.

Here, away from his dear ones, he lived a stranger, all by himself. The school room was dark and cold and noisy. But he enjoyed the leisure moments when he could be among the flowers and plants and learn their names. But nature studies were then regarded as useless, affording neither honor nor bread.

Years passed. He came to Uppsala to pursue his studies along the lines of medicine and science. But all the time he had to struggle with poverty. In his autobiography he says that he had to borrow for his living. He could not afford to have his shoes resoled, but used paper as insoles.

One spring day he was sitting in the botanical garden examining some plants, when he saw a venerable man approaching him. The stranger entered into conversation with the young student and was astonished at his knowledge of flowers and plants, and invited him to come along to his home. When they arrived at the home, Linnæus was surprised to find that it was the learned Professor Olof Celsius who had so honored him.

Celsius was so well pleased with the young student that he treated him as a member of his family. His hardships were now over. He could now devote himself to his chosen studies without interruption, and his fame spread to other lands. On a visit to Holland he won wealthy friends and patrons, who enabled him to get his works published. At length he became professor at Uppsala University.

Thither flocked students from all lands to get a look under his guidance into the secrets of nature. Lasting were the impressions his students received from the great scientist's love of nature, and his reverence for the infinite wisdom of the Creator. He introduced his most noted work with the following beautiful words: "I saw the infinite, omniscient, and almighty God, I saw His back as He passed on, and I was awed. I

sought His footsteps in the realm of nature, and found in each of them infinite wisdom and power."

On summer days he took his students with him into the woods and fields to take a look into nature's workshop. Of every plant or animal they saw, the master had some amusing and interesting thing to tell. A member of one of the classes relates: "After the students had thus enjoyed the day, from morning till



Hammarby, Linné's Home near Uppsala.

afternoon, the return to the city followed. The master led the way, and the students escorted him to his home, where with enthusiastic repetitions of 'Vivat Linnæus' a happy day was ended."

His vacations were spent at his country home, Hammarby, near Uppsala, where he had a large orchard and flower garden.

In his later years he was ennobled and changed his celebrated name Linnæus for Von Linné. Splendid decorations were conferred upon him from foreign lands,

and attractive positions were offered him. He was, however, happy in his little university city, and could not be lured away. When he looked back upon his life's course, it was with gratitude to God, who "had led him by His all-powerful hand."

But even a flower king must wither like the flowers. On January 10th, 1778, his spirit took its flight. On his writing table there was afterwards found a paper with one word written on it, only one, and with a trembling hand. It was "Stenbrohult," his happy childhood's home. Linnæus was a genius with a child's heart.

CHAPTER XV

REIGN OF ADOLPH FREDERICK, 1751-1771

A. ATTEMPTED COUP D'ÉTAT BY THE COURT

The Ambition of the Queen. In the year 1751 Frederick I passed away without leaving any perceptible vacancy behind him. People generally had almost forgotten that there was a king. The new king, Adolph Frederick, was a kind, honorable gentleman, whose greatest delight was in fleeing from the world's din to his dear turning lathe. He would have been well satisfied with the scant power the constitution accorded the king had it not been for his wife. Queen Louise Ulrica reminds one very much of her brother, Frederick II of Prussia, called the Great. She was determined to make her fine talents felt in the affairs of government. Through her amiability, the royal pair secured a group of adherents who were ready to ven-

ture everything to secure greater power for the king—that is, for the queen.

Attempts of the King to Disregard the Council. At first the king tried to assume the power to decide matters which the council claimed the sole power to decide. Then he tried to nullify the decisions of the council by refusing to sign them. The queen fed the flame of discord to the best of her ability. Both the king and the council appealed to the Estates to settle the question. The Estates, meeting in 1755, sided with the council and ordered that if the king refused his signature to their decisions, the council was authorized to attach it by means of a stamp.

Efforts of the Court to Win the Peasants. At the Riksdag the king and queen attempted to secure the support of the peasants. Members of that Estate were treated to refreshments by the court party and some were invited to meetings with the king. One peasant, for instance, boasted that he had been at the palace and been treated to wine, had sat on a fine upholstered chair, and had been offered snuff out of the king's own snuffbox. But these efforts resulted in failure and the humiliation of the peasants.

Extreme Measures of the Estates. The Estates took pleasure in showing the king, and especially the proud queen, that supreme power rested with them. So they undertook to discharge the excellent tutors of Prince Gustav simply because they were friends of the king and queen, and then forced upon the prince teachers whom the royal family could not tolerate. The sensitive little prince took the separation from his beloved

teachers so much to heart that he became ill in consequence.

The haughty, hot-tempered queen hated the officious Estates, who had so impudently thrust themselves into the sanctity of family life, intruded themselves between parents and children. Her "head began to reel," she wrote in her diary. She must get away from this intolerable dependence. There was but one course: to overthrow the system of government.

The Plot and Its Results. Some friends of the court plotted to bring about the desired change, and gained supporters among the soldiers, sailors, and workmen of Stockholm. The plan was that these conspirators should gather some night, and under the lead of some trusty officers, cause an uprising, seize the important positions in the city, arrest the chief men of the council and the Estates. The king should then summon a new Riksdag and induce it to grant greater powers to the king. But unfortunately for the court, they were forced to let into the secret too many unreliable men of the lower classes.

One innkeeper, known for drunkenness and rashness, had in readiness a few hundred men, whom he had induced to assist in the uprising. But he could not wait till the leaders had made all necessary preparations. One night, when drunk as usual, he would, forsooth, of his own accord carry out the plan. One of his confidants went to a corporal of the guard, aroused him and asked: "Are your men willing to do their duty in loyalty to their king in case an order is given to act?" The corporal answered, "yes," but hastened to

notify his lieutenant, who was a zealous partisan of the Hats, and who at once informed Axel von Fersen.

Axel von Fersen gathered the trustiest officers and other members of the Hat party. Guards were stationed at important places, the leaders of the plot were arrested, and the premature attempt at revolution was easily put down. Of those who had been leaders no fewer than eight were condemned to death and were beheaded in front of Riddarholm Church. Never since the Massacre of Linköping, in 1600, had Sweden witnessed such a scene.

The Estates knew how to reach the root of the attempted revolution. They charged the clergy, not as an estate of the realm, but as spiritual leaders, to administer to the queen a sharp correction. The archbishop and another bishop repaired to Ulriksdal and laid before the queen a written admonition and warning signed by all the members of the spiritual Estate. As to the king, his own crown was at stake. But the Estates were content with sending him, too, in writing, a sharp warning.

During the Riksdag of 1755-56 the king had lost the last remnant of his power. The premature attempt at revolution had in no wise shaken the power of the Hats. But for their own errors the party was some day doomed to fall.

B. SWEDEN'S PART IN THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

Motives for Participation. In 1756, the year of the attempted revolution, there broke out a great European war, known as the Seven Years' War. Half of Europe was arrayed against Frederick II of Prussia. Among

his many enemies was France, which now as in 1741 lured Sweden into war. Large subsidies were offered and promises made that Sweden should recover what she had lost to Prussia in 1720. Such tempting prospects the council could not resist and so joined Prussia's many enemies. This was a treacherous and cowardly act, just as Prussia's had been in joining Sweden's many enemies in 1715.

Results of the Participation. The results were disastrous. The Swedish forces were few, untrained, and poorly equipped. Their worst enemies were want and disease. There were times when every third man was on the sick list. But the people were loyal as they had been in the days of Charles XII, and more than one brave exploit was performed. But nothing of real value was accomplished. The officers were now, as in the previous war, selfish and insubordinate. Many simply neglected their military duties to take part in the Riksdag or to attend to private affairs or pleasures. Both the commanders in chief and the government were helpless against such abuses.

The Treaty of Hamburg. After five years the war was closed by the separate Treaty of Hamburg, May 22, 1762, through the personal mediation of the queen. Sweden escaped without loss of territory. The general peace was concluded at Paris in 1763. Frederick emerged from the war with prestige greatly enhanced.

C. THE FALL OF THE HAT PARTY

Cost of the Late War. The late war had cost the kingdom many million crowns to no purpose. This failure was now added to the other sins of the Hat

party: the miserable Russian War and the extravagant subsidies granted the factories. In consequence of this mismanagement the country was burdened with an immense debt, about the same as that at the death of Charles XII—of course with this difference, that the country was better able to bear the burden now than it was at that time, its industries being in a far better condition.

The Mismanagement of the Hat Party. To meet these expenditures the government had resorted to borrowing as long as it was possible and then to issue paper money without limit. When it became evident that the government could not redeem in real money the immense quantity of bills in circulation, the result was the same as in the case of Baron Görtz's copper coins: they depreciated even to one-third of the face value. The result was distress and uncertainty. No one knew if the bills he received today would have the same value tomorrow. People of fixed salaries were deprived of two-thirds of their income. People who had made investments suffered in the same way. Among people of means there was a sharp competition for the purchase of goods, metals, commodities of permanent value. It was said that one might find peasants buying at auction Latin books just for the purpose of getting some value for their despised bills.

The economists of that day had not fully learned the danger of issuing too much paper money.

The Ousting of the Hats. At the Riksdag of 1765, the people unanimously insisted that extravagance must end, and the government of the Hat party as

well. The majority of the members chosen to this Riksdag belonged to the Cap party. They compelled all the zealous Hat members of the council to withdraw and replaced them with men of their own party.

D. ADMINISTRATION OF THE YOUNGER CAP PARTY

The Foreign Policy of the Caps. The Cap party, which came to power in 1765, differed greatly from the old Cap party under the lead of Arvid Horn. It is true that both advocated economy in national expenditures and opposed extravagance and waste. But while Horn and his followers had placed Sweden's independence as their goal, the present Cap party had during the political strife, in blind party rage, sought support from Russia, the sworn enemy of the Hats. It even came to light that the Russian ambassador in Stockholm had received from friends in the Cap party traitorous writings, which suggested that if the Russian government failed by peaceful means to crush the Hats, it should resort to threats and mobilize forces along the borders of Finland. These men called themselves "patriots." It was Swedish leaders who backed up the insolent behavior of the Russian minister after the election of the heir to the Swedish throne in 1743.

The object of this affiliation with Russia on the part of the Caps was to enable them afterwards to adopt measures for the country's welfare. The hereditary enemy so powerfully rebuked by the Hats now with the success of the Caps secured a foothold in Sweden. The party leaders could not now adopt any important measures without first consulting the Russian minister. Gold was freely used by him to strengthen his cause.

The System of Bribery. The system of bribery was the ugliest feature of the government of the Estates. The means were taken partly from the treasury, partly from the party's fund of private contributions, but were principally secured from foreign ambassadors. The latter distributed money to members in all the Estates to win supporters. To save the Hats, in 1765, France spent more than two and one-half million crowns. England, Russia, and Denmark in like manner supported the Caps with four million crowns. Still larger sums were spent four years later at the Riksdag of 1769. Honor and patriotism seemed in a fair way to be effaced from men's minds and hearts.

Sweden's Independence Threatened. Sweden was threatened during the administration of the Caps with becoming a subject kingdom of Russia. This was the more dangerous as Russia had joined with Prussia and Denmark in a plan to uphold the liberal constitution of Sweden, as it tended to keep alive the party strife, rendering the government weak and dependent. The same policy had been pursued by Russia and Prussia regarding another neighbor, Poland. The result was the partition of Poland between these two "friends of Polish liberty," and a third neighbor, Austria.

In order not to disturb the good relations with this friend and well-wisher of Sweden, the Caps discontinued Ehrensvärd's works for the defense of Finland. They were, forsooth, no longer needed.

For all honorable and true patriots it had now become a sacred duty to defeat the Cap party. It was not a difficult thing to do, for the party defeated itself through the errors of its domestic policy.

The Domestic Policy of the Caps. In economic matters the Caps now had some excellent ideas. They had come to recognize the great importance of agriculture to the prosperity of a nation. Even the Hats had discovered during the later years of their government that there were other things besides commerce and manufactures that needed encouragement. It was a serious matter that Sweden could not produce enough grain for home consumption, but had to import considerable quantities from abroad.

For centuries Swedish agriculture had been hampered by a faulty economic and social system. From the earliest times the peasants lived, chiefly for common protection, in crowded villages, in unsanitary conditions, and exposed to ravages of fire. The lands of the villages were divided into a large number of narrow strips, for each one was to have his share of all the different qualities of the land. Thus in a village of say twenty owners there might be no less than 5,000 strips.

These strips were necessarily very narrow, hardly wide enough in places for the peasant to turn with his team without getting into his neighbor's strip. The margins between the strips were so much waste land. There was great sacrifice of time and convenience in moving teams and tools from one strip to another, often at considerable distances. They all had to harvest at the same time, for one could not haul in his grain over the unharvested strip of his neighbor, and a separate road to each strip could of course not be thought of. This was a great handicap especially to industrious and thrifty peasants.

An important step in reform was begun, about the middle of the eighteenth century, with a system of consolidation of the many small strips into a few larger strips for each villager. A still greater reform was effected at the opening of the nineteenth century when the various strips were consolidated into one tract for each owner. This led to a gradual dissolution of the village as each peasant moved his home to his own tract of land. These reforms largely increased the acreage of cultivation and removed ancient handicaps from agriculture, and the peasant could now give more attention to stock raising. But the reform met with much opposition from those who held to the ancient customs and were loth to leave their old surroundings.

The Passing of the Mercantile System. The care given to agriculture from the middle of the eighteenth century, and especially during the administration of the Caps, indicates that the belief in the Mercantile System was shaken. Everywhere in Europe people began to think that each country should not attempt to produce everything that it needed, but that each country should produce such things as it was especially adapted for, and import other necessities from other lands. As it became apparent that many protected industries were artificially created and maintained, voices began to be raised against this system of paternalism. The state should rather let free competition control.

An Industrial Crisis. Notwithstanding certain merits, the administration of the Caps suffered from serious faults. The party had determined to put an end to waste by the practice of economy. But they made the mistake of going to the other extreme. They sud-

denly prohibited the state bank from granting loans to factories and other enterprises, and began a forcible collection of all the bank's credits. By this means it was expected that the bank by degrees would be able to redeem all the paper money in coin. But hard times for the manufacturers and miners followed. They had all been borrowers at the bank. Now many had to close their businesses. Expensive machinery was sold at great sacrifice, large masses of workmen were thrown out of employment and suffered want. Many of them emigrated, and thus Sweden lost thousands of her most skillful sons. This sudden change in the policy of the government had brought on an industrial crisis which was painful to pass through. It was, however, to a great extent unavoidable after the extravagance of the Hats. It swept away many establishments which had been maintained by excessive state subsidies. But the larger factories, which rested on a more solid foundation, survived the crisis.

The Riksdag of 1769. At the Riksdag summoned in 1769 to relieve the distress, the general discontent led to the removal of the majority of the Caps from the council and their places were filled by men of the Hat party. All Russia's and Denmark's intrigues and bribery could not save the Cap party from defeat.

CHAPTER XVI

REIGN OF GUSTAVUS III, 1771-1792

A. THE COUP D' ETAT OF 1772

Character and Aim of the Young King. Adolph Fredrick died suddenly in 1771 and was succeeded by his oldest son, Gustavus III. The young king had inherited his mother's rich endowments. He had a consuming love for his fatherland and was determined to risk everything to be its savior. From weakness and dishonor he would rescue it, from discord, which set son against father and brother against brother, he would save it. He must put an end to the "liberty" which had become license, a liberty



Gustavus III.

only for the most powerful party, a liberty which had caused the greedy neighbors of the fatherland to crouch, ready to spring upon it and tear it to pieces. He glowed with enthusiasm for his country and its honor. He worshiped the memory of Gustavus I and Gustavus II and was proud to bear their name. He would resemble them in more than name. The times

required heroic action, for to appeal to the patriotism of the party leaders was futile.

The King's Appeal to Officers and Soldiers. In the beginning of August, 1772, the rulers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria signed "in the Name of the Holy Trinity" their agreement to partition Poland in order "to preserve mutual good will among themselves and restore peace and order in Poland." On the 19th of the same month the fate of Sweden as an independent state was decided. At the change of guards at the palace in Stockholm, on that day, the king called the officers and their subordinates into the guard-hall.

There he began, "pale and deeply moved," to address them. In vivid colors he pictured conditions in Sweden. The root of the evil lay in the arbitrary government of the many. It was this which he aimed to destroy, and restore Sweden's time-honored liberty under law. He closed his powerful and convincing address with the words: "Will you follow me with the same loyalty as your fathers did Gustavus Vasa and Gustavus Adolphus? Then I will venture my life and blood for you and your country's salvation." There was a moment of silence, a fateful moment. Then sounded a voice: "We offer life and blood in Your Majesty's service." This promise was followed by a deafening "Yes." With the same enthusiasm the men outside pledged support to their king.

The Revolution Became a Celebration. But throughout the city rumors spread as to what was taking place at the palace. People rushed thither, but found the gates closed. Was the king a captive? Perhaps de-

prived of his crown? The gates were opened, the king appeared, mounted and with drawn sword, followed by the guard. The people's anxiety was changed to joy and cheering. Wherever the king rode forth, throughout the capital, to receive the oath of loyalty from soldiers and officers, the people crowded around him with shouts of "Live the King!" The same shouts came from the ships in the harbors. The king tied a white band, as a badge, around his arm. In a short time the white band was around the arm of every person in the city. Wherever the king's proclamation to save the land from party strife was read, shouts of applause were heard. It was not simply a revolution; it was a celebration.

The Meeting of the Estates. Two days later the Estates met on call of the king. Gustavus entered the hall and from the throne addressed the Estates as follows: "Filled with deep anxiety over the condition of the country, and constrained to exhibit the truth in its full light, when the kingdom is at the brink of destruction, it is not to be wondered at that today I am unable to receive you with feelings of gladness. For a long time the country has been rent in twain by party strife, divided, as it were, into two peoples, the parties united only in tearing the unhappy land to pieces. To strengthen itself has been the only aim of the ruling party. Nothing has been sacred to a party animated by a feeling of hate and revenge. Thus has liberty, the noblest of man's rights, been converted into an intolerable despotism in the hands of each ruling party. If the domestic affairs of the country are in a perilous condition, how terrible are its foreign relations! I am

ashamed to speak of it. Born a Swede, and king of Sweden, it should be impossible for me to believe that foreign aims could control Swedish statesmen, and further that the foulest means have been employed for this purpose. You know what I mean, and my feelings of shame may lead you to see into what disgrace your dissensions have plunged the kingdom."

The king closed by assuring the Estates that it was license and not liberty he wished to abolish. Hence, he caused to be read before the Estates a proposed new constitution, restoring the power of the king. By this constitution Gustavus III sought to restore that of Gustavus Adolphus. Power was divided equally between the king and the Estates. The Estates levied the taxes and together with the king made the laws. Without the consent of the Estates the king could not begin aggressive wars. The Council was appointed by the king and responsible to him alone. Its function was solely advisory. The king was required to consult the Council only on important matters.

This constitution was unanimously adopted and by oath confirmed by the Estates. The members who would have opposed it could not, or dared not, for the king had the army and the people on his side. Thus fell the power of the Estates without a hand raised for its support. The "Era of Liberty" was at an end, a new era had begun.

The Conclusion. The revolution had been effected without bloodshed and almost without the use of force. Only the most prominent of the party leaders had been kept under guard. They were now released. The hateful and infamous party names, Hats and Caps, were

abolished. Conciliation and harmony were the watch-words of Gustavus.

The report of the revolution was received throughout the land as a deliverance. But the Russian ambassador in Stockholm complained bitterly of the treachery of his former friends, who now appeared with the white badge on the arm, and did not even dare to visit him. He felt alone and deserted.

B. GUSTAVUS AVERTS THE VENGEANCE OF THE NEIGHBORS

Russia's Vengeance held in Abeyance. Catherine II, Russia's proud mistress, stormed over Gustavus' unexpected attempts to deprive her of her expected prey. For the present, however, she had to put up with it, for her military forces were employed in Turkey and Poland. But only for the present. By a hint from her, Denmark and Prussia also restrained themselves for the time being.

Gustavus' Preparation for Defense. Much depended on the measures of the king in this delicate situation. He hastened to put the most exposed part of the realm, Finland, in a state of defense as far as his limited means afforded. Soon, too, an earnest effort was made to strengthen the naval defense. A strong fleet was provided and the coast flotilla was strengthened. But more respect was aroused among the impudent neighbors when they saw that the Swedish people were united around their king, so that no further opportunity was offered for outsiders to meddle in the domestic affairs of the kingdom. Sweden had demon-

strated that it would and could be saved. That was the great difference between it and Poland, which to the last was disintegrated, and therefore had been partitioned.

The King's Diplomacy. In his foreign policy Gustavus was greatly aided by his chancellor, Ulric Scheffer, whose cautious and unruffled calm made a wholesome impression on the spirited and restless king. The relation between these two has, apart from certain differences, a well known parallel in Sweden's earlier history. Gustavus' own inclination and aptitude lay toward foreign relations. His keen insight and his artfulness made him a skillful diplomat.

The Assistance of France. At this time, too, France came to Sweden's assistance. Her government would not permit Russia and Prussia to become too powerful. So she granted subsidies to Sweden for the strengthening of its defenses, and promised military aid in case of need. She also let her ambassadors in St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Copenhagen make it known that an attack on Sweden would entail a war with France.

C. REFORMS UNDER GUSTAVUS III

Currency Reform. A serious problem for Sweden at this time was how to be enabled to maintain her independence. The various experiments of the Estates had resulted in a heavy national debt and a ruined currency. First and foremost a thorough reform in the currency must be made before any prosperity could come to the various industries. The bank notes had, it is true, risen somewhat in value during the adminis-

tration of the Caps, but not to half of their face value. To redeem the notes in full face value was not possible, nor would it have been just, since they had passed current from hand to hand for more than a generation at a greatly reduced value. On the advice of his accomplished minister of finance, Johan Liljencrants, the king decided to order the bank to redeem the bills at half of the face value. To furnish the silver necessary for this redemption, Liljencrants negotiated a foreign loan. Soon real money came into circulation, and thus a wholesome business life became possible in all industries.

Removal of Restrictions on Trade. Business was further encouraged by the removal of restrictions imposed by the mercantile system and other outgrown methods. Peasants were now permitted to sell their grain or stock wherever they pleased. It was now no longer likely that want and hard times would prevail in one province while abundance and low prices obtained in a neighboring one.

Abolition of Torture. Like most of the kings of this period, Gustavus wished to appear enlightened and free from prejudice. In this spirit he abolished torture, which up to this time had occasionally been resorted to in judicial procedure to extort confession. In the case of participants in the attempted revolution of 1756 the accused had been suspended in a cistern of ice cold water till they confessed. It often happened that innocent persons confessed to guilt simply to escape from the awful suffering.

Religious Freedom for Foreigners. In the spirit of the age religious freedom for foreigners was estab-

lished. This spirit was expressed in the words of Frederick II: "In my country each one may be saved in his own way." Times had changed since the Swedish Church engaged in a life-and-death struggle for its faith. This act also aimed at inducing wealthy and enterprising foreigners to settle in the country and build up trade and industry.

Freedom of the Press. One of the civil rights which writers of the period had most earnestly advocated was the freedom of the press. This freedom the Younger Cap party had established. The ordinance, however, forbade the publishing of attacks on the Christian religion and the constitution of the realm as well as of libelous and immoral writings. This ordinance was now in the main confirmed by Gustavus III. He had, indeed, seen abuses of this freedom, and the council strove to induce him to repeal the law. But he replied: "A king may through the freedom of the press get to hear the truth, which is often enough, and successfully, concealed from him."

D. CULTURE DURING THE REIGN

The Court Life. Never before had life at court been so significant to the people as during the reign of Gustavus III. He had himself shared in the French court life, which had become a model for all European courts. He loved its pomp and splendor, its ceremonies and pageantry. He delighted in surrounding himself with his country's genius, wit, and beauty. He, the royal charmer, through his amiability, his refinement, his wit, his genial conversation, was the soul of this brilliant drama, in which every movement, every gesture

was an art beautifying life. Rich, all too rich, in festivals was the life in the palace of Stockholm and in the many country palaces where Gustavus loved to hold his court—the stately Drottningholm, the romantic Gripsholm, the lovely Haga. Everywhere theaters were arranged where the king himself, his brothers, courtiers, and court ladies appeared as actors. For the theater was a passion with him.

But amusement was not the only aim of Gustavus in his court and theater life. He saw in it a means for culture and refinement, through which he would elevate his people. And results were not wanting. "Gustavian" refinement and elegance lived on through several generations. But unhappily French frivolity and moral corruption accompanied the refinements of Parisian life. And Gustavus forgot, when he wanted to convert his Stockholm to a Versailles, that it was over a poor Sweden and not a wealthy France that he wielded the scepter.

Literature and Art. After the Era of Liberty, science and learning declined, but literature flourished the more. The king's mind inclined that way. According to the spirit of the times, he was filled with admiration of French literature, whose elegance and wit served as a model also in Sweden. Gustavus himself was Sweden's foremost orator; as author, too, he was prominent, especially along dramatic lines. He gathered about him gifted writers and artists who enjoyed his patronage. To further the cause of Swedish literature for all time he founded the Swedish Academy in 1786. It was composed of eighteen members. Its aim was to foster the Swedish language and literature.

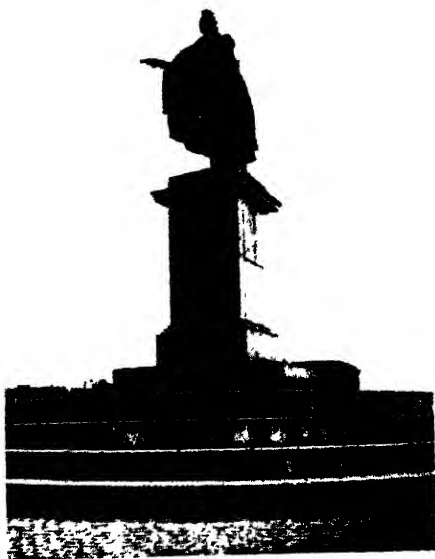
Johan Henrik Kellgren. Among the poets of the period Kellgren left behind him the deepest impression. He was, like Dalin, a standard-bearer of the period of illumination. His weapon was his fun-provoking, ready wit. He boldly attacked all errors and weaknesses, especially of the leaders in society. Tegnér sings with admiration of the time "when Kellgren dealt the heavy strokes, the flashing strokes, for truth, for justice, and for sense."

Like Dalin, Kellgren labored as editor and poet. He was, however, of a deeper, more serious nature, with truly great poetic endowments. For Dalin, poetry was rather a pastime. In Kellgren, Gustavus found what he had long sought—a poetic genius that could cooperate with him in the service of the Swedish theater. The king made sketches for Swedish operas, and Kellgren was then left to carry out his thoughts and put them in verse. This he did so well that to this day he is unsurpassed as a writer of Swedish opera texts. When his pen fell forever from his hand, there was universal sorrow in the land.

Karl Gustav Leopold. Leopold's songs are closely related to Kellgren's, by whose side he labored for enlightenment. In flashing wit, he fully equaled Kellgren, but lacked the latter's enthusiasm and fervor. He survived his fellow poet long enough to learn that new tendencies came to prevail in the world of letters.

Karl Mikael Bellman. Bellman was and remained a child, a child filled with the joy of life, and care-free, he enjoyed its pleasures. An idler, a wag he was, incapable of work, but a rare poetic genius. In crowds of happy friends, at the soft tones of the lute, were

born his undying pictures, in poetry and music, of the checkered life at inns and taverns and in nature's retreats. The world to him was a big child nursery, where all played, and no one was weighed down by life's burdens.



Sergel's Statue of Gustavus III in Stockholm.

Johan Tobias Sergel. He was Sweden's greatest sculptor, her greatest artist. He escaped the usual lot of artists—privation and want. In Italy, the Paradise of artists, beneath the soft blue southern sky, the youth from the bare and artless North could enjoy the glorious Greek and Roman art-creations of gods and god-

desses and heroes. This art he took as a model and himself formed art creations which made him the greatest sculptor of his time. His best known masterpiece is the statue of Gustavus III, in Stockholm, where the king landed upon his return from the Russian War in 1790. As a work of art it is unsurpassed by any of Sweden's historical statues.

E. THE KING'S REVERSES

Government Monopoly of Distillation of Spirits. From of old the Swedish peasant had enjoyed the right to convert his grain into brandy, or whiskey. One might even hear members of the Riksdag declare that a moderate use of brandy was the peasant's best medicine. The still was considered a household necessity. This distillation removed large quantities of grain from the food supply of the nation. But what was worse, the people were on a fair way to ruin through the drink habit. Thinking people had long felt that Sweden, to use Dalin's words, "had suffered a greater loss from brandy than from war and pestilence."

To reduce this evil and at the same time afford the crown a new source of revenue, Gustavus prohibited private distilling and established instead government distilleries. But the government's desire for revenue triumphed over its other object, to limit the drink habit. A whiskey flood began to inundate the land. Government agents were instructed to urge people to buy whiskey and thus help the impoverished government. Drinking was considered a patriotic duty. Places for the sale of liquor sprang up everywhere, even near the churches, where they were kept open

before, during, and after services. In one parish, for instance, it is said that there were twelve dramshops, and as a result no one got any service from his hired help on Mondays.

Private, or Illegal, Distilling. People could not understand why they should not be allowed to turn their own grain into whiskey. So they began to distill secretly. Officers made tours of inspection, seized the stills, and imprisonments or heavy fines followed. The peasants then combined in large groups and established their stills in secluded places in the forests. Should the officers of the law venture to interfere there would be bloody fights that might result in loss of life. In some places the people were ruined through heavy fines. Thus the government monopoly had caused yet greater evils among the people, and instead of furnishing the government an income, it had caused it losses. Finally the monopoly had to be abandoned. At the close of the 70's there were plain signs that the popularity of Gustavus was waning.

Various Causes of Discontent. The liquor question was not alone the cause of Gustavus' failure. During the early years of his reign, his weak nature had been strengthened by the dangers that threatened the realm. But gradually as the dangers seemed to disappear, the king's weaker side came to the fore—his love of pleasure and his vanity. The many court festivals, which consumed the revenues of the realm, sapped the king's strength, and set a bad example to his subjects, called most forcibly to mind the times of Christina. The king's expensive foreign travels also aroused much criticism; especially expensive were his visits to

France and Italy, which lasted nearly a year. At the same time a failure of crops afflicted the land, and many people perished from hunger.

The displeasure with Gustavus was partly of the kind that usually follows reforms. The burghers complained of the changes wrought in the mercantile system, as the clergy did of the establishment of religious freedom, and the nobility could not forgive Gustavus for depriving them of their former prerogative at the meetings of the Riksdag and of the incomes connected therewith.

The King's Efforts to Regain Popularity. It was bitter indeed for one so sensitive as Gustavus to have lost the love of his people. The happy, youthful period of his career was at an end. His peace of mind was gone. In the noisy pleasures of court life he sought to forget his grief and unrest. But those who were close to him noticed how sorrow wore on him. He was moody and irritable, and at times tears gathered in his eyes. The love of the people—how was he to regain it? He must. He began to dream of victories and conquests, which should cover his reign with glory and make him like his hero, Gustavus Adolphus.

But for such exploits he was not supported by his old advisers, Scheffer and Liljencrants, both of whom resigned. Instead came the officer in guard, Gustav Maurits Armfelt, whose good humor and fine personal appearance made him the king's spoiled favorite. He was untiring in his efforts, with sparkling wit and ever new amusements, to ward off dullness and monotony, which Gustavus dreaded more than anything else. Armfelt was a real genius, but through his insatiable love

of pleasure and his profligacy he was a dangerous friend to the king, whose chief weakness was a thirst for pleasure.

F. THE RUSSIAN WAR—FIRST PART

Causes of the War. It was against Russia that Gustavus decided to turn his weapons. He hoped to return in triumph to be cheered by his people and admired by the world. He had, however, real and weighty causes for such a war. For with Russia no permanent peace was possible. The Empress Catherine had only postponed her revenge to a more opportune time. For a war with Russia, Gustavus had to keep himself in readiness. His best policy would be to anticipate his enemy by a bold attack when a favorable opportunity offered itself. This came when Russia was engaged in a new war with Turkey. St. Petersburg was now left without defenders. Now, if ever, was the time.

But the constitution required the consent of the Estates for engaging in aggressive wars. This Gustavus knew he could never secure. In the meantime, it happened that a small division of Cossacks crossed the Finnish border and fired a few shots on a Swedish frontier guard. Hence, it was Russia that broke the peace, and Gustavus had a legal right and even the duty to defend his country. So far, so good. But there was a story current that the little skirmish was arranged by order of the king, who shortly before wrote to his friend and assistant, Armfelt: "Now it is time to begin the war, that is, to get the Russians to make trouble on the border." The invading Cossacks were said to have been disguised Swedish soldiers. No won-

der then that no shot hit the mark. Gustavus' taste for theatricals had had a practical application.

The Anjala Conspiracy. In the summer of 1788 the king and his army were transported to Finland. The new Swedish fleet was to defeat the Russian, and then land troops at St. Petersburg. In the meantime the land forces were to advance against the city and thus enclose it from two sides. Off the Island of Hogland in the Gulf of Finland the battle was fought creditably by the Swedes, but it was indecisive. The fleet was unable to penetrate to St. Petersburg. The plan to land troops miscarried.

The king then decided to attack the city from the land side only. But the army had not advanced far beyond the Russian border before the hatred of the lordly officers broke out in a meeting, which in one stroke destroyed what had been built up during sixteen years, and crushed all hope of a victory over a hated foe, a mutiny so shameful that it has no parallel in history. Now these lordly officers felt that they had a fine opportunity to wreak vengeance on him who had deprived them of their political power. As ground for their mutiny they alleged the fact that the king had no right to begin an aggressive war without the consent of the Estates. That they had thus caused their country an irreparable loss they did not seem to consider.

The same wretched spectacle as during the two previous wars was now repeated. It became popular among the officers to censure everything that the king did, speak disrespectfully of him, and treat him with open contempt. A large number of officers conspired

at Anjala on the Kymmene to secure a summons for a Riksdag. The intention was to have the Estates force the king to conclude peace and to observe the constitution. Some Finnish officers even proved themselves traitors to their country, urging the separation of Finland from Sweden, forming it into an independent state under Russia's protection.

An Attack by Denmark Saved the King. The king's position was desperate. His promising campaign was ruined, for Catherine had been given time to strengthen the defenses of St. Petersburg. He was threatened by his own subjects with the loss of freedom and even of life. But at this critical point unexpected help came. It was a new war, a war with Denmark. As Russia's ally, Denmark must now fulfill her old agreements. At the news that Denmark prepared for war, Gustavus exclaimed, "I am saved." He had now found a way to return to his country without dishonor. So he hastened back to Sweden to meet his new enemy.

He had recovered the same youthful energy he had when he gave Sweden her new constitution. He now met the danger boldly, for he knew how to strike both his foreign and domestic enemies. He found among his people a strong resentment against the officers who had betrayed their country in the moment of danger. Like Gustavus Vasa, in former years, he went up to Dalecarlia and addressed the peasants at the churches. He asked them to come, as their fathers of old, to the defense of their country, and select their best men for its support. Everywhere they were willing to follow their king, and organized forces in every parish in Dalecarlia. The same patriotic spirit spread over the

whole country. It was a demonstration such as had not been seen since the days of Magnus Stenbock. This was the people's answer to the treason of the officers.

Gustavus also received valuable aid from the English and Prussian ambassadors, who on behalf of their governments threatened Denmark with war unless she let Sweden alone. This action of the two powers in favor of Sweden was owing to their fear lest Russia might become too powerful. Denmark withdrew her forces from Sweden.

G. THE RIKSDAG OF 1789. A NEW REVOLUTION

Now Gustavus did not fear to meet the Estates. The Anjala conspirators had meant to accuse Gustavus before the Estates. But now it was the king who meant with the aid of the lower orders to chastise the rebellious nobles and secure increased powers so that in the future he might be able to hold the turbulent members in check.

The nobles on their part prepared to defy the king and at first they did so. But the king called all the Estates together in the hall of state and in a thundering address administered a reprimand to the nobles. When murmurs of opposition were heard from this Estate, the king ordered the nobles to leave the hall. There was a moment of hesitation. The nine hundred nobles all kept their seats, and some caught the hilts of their swords. It was a moment when the crown of Gustavus seemed suspended by a hair. But finally the nobles obeyed and left the hall.

The king then addressed the other Estates in gracious words, and proposed an amendment to the consti-

tution which would make the king almost absolute. When the proposition had been well worked over, the king again summoned the Estates to meet in the hall. To carry the proposition he had resorted to the violent means of arresting his most determined opponents among the nobles. The nobles, however, refused to accept the measure. But when the other three Estates accepted it, the king declared it adopted. This was in effect a revolution, for the changes had not been made in a constitutional way, but by the use of force.

By the amended constitution it was left to the king's "gracious will" to determine the number of members of the council. The king fixed the number at zero. Thus passed out of Swedish history the venerable body which had existed for half a millennium.

H. THE RUSSIAN WAR—SECOND PART, 1789-1790

The Viborg Gauntlet. After the Riksdag of 1789, the Russian war was renewed. It was chiefly a naval war, in which the Swedes fought bravely, but with varying success. With both his fleet and coast flotilla, Gustavus sailed into the Bay of Viborg to destroy a Russian squadron stationed there. The attempt failed, and the king's rashness avenged itself when the whole Russian fleet closed up the entrance to the bay. A continuous western wind prevented the Swedes from escaping. They were short of both food and fresh water, and the largest Swedish fleet ever assembled, 200 ships and 30,000 men and the king himself, seemed doomed to destruction.

Finally after nearly a month the wind changed, and the king decided by a desperate effort to break through

the enemy's fleet. The wind freshened, filling the sails and driving the Swedish ships in a murderous fight through the enemy's lines. The Swedes lost one-third of their ships and men. The event has been called the Viborg Gauntlet.

The Battle of Svensksund. With his coast flotilla, which was less damaged, Gustavus stationed himself at Svensksund, west of the bay, and awaited the approach of the Russian flotilla, which was far superior to the Swedish. Its admiral was fully assured of victory, and fitted up on his own ship a room worthy of his royal captive. He postponed the attack to the anniversary of the Tsarina's coronation, to celebrate the day with a great victory. There was a great victory, but it was for the Swedes. The victory at Svensksund was the crowning glory of the Swedish fleet. The Russians lost one-third of their fleet, and more than half of their men were killed or captured.

The Significance of This War. The victory at Svensksund inclined Catherine to peace, which was concluded in 1790 (Värälä, Finland) without loss of territory on either side. The war had cost Sweden immense losses in men and money, but there were other and greater results. The war had inspired the Swedes with self-confidence, it had taught its overbearing neighbor that the Swedish arms were not dulled, it had put an end to Russia's influence in Sweden. By the peace, Russia was compelled to recognize the revolution of 1772, and to promise to cease meddling in the domestic affairs of Sweden.

Conclusion of the Anjala Conspiracy. At the close of the war the authors of the Anjala Conspiracy were

tried and punished. The king now displayed his gentleness and clemency, a beautiful trait of his character. Only one of the guilty, Colonel Hästesko, was punished with death.

I. THE DEATH OF GUSTAVUS III

The Assassination. After the Riksdag of 1789, all the nobles breathed hatred against Gustavus. Everywhere among them there were mutterings of revolution, and among the most bitter a conspiracy was formed to take the life of the tyrant and save liberty. Their tool was Captain Anckarström, a harsh and revengeful character, who felt himself wronged by the king. For the evening of March 16, 1792, a masquerade ball had been arranged at the Opera House, and the king was expected to be there. He came, too, not heeding the warnings he had received. He put on the masquerade costume and mingled with the crowd. Presently he was surrounded by a crowd in black masks—the conspirators. A shot was fired, the king cried, "I am wounded, seize him." The conspirators made for the exits and sought to divert attention by the cry of "Fire." But the king's friends closed the doors, and all had to remove their masks and give their names.

The Reconciliation. The king had been shot in the back, above the left hip. At first his wound was not considered dangerous, but soon took a fatal turn and in two weeks ended his life. Mild and forgiving, he met death, concerned about the welfare of his country to the last. Gustavus was great in his last moments. The murderous deed aroused horror even among the king's opponents, and during the approach of death

a reconciliation between the king and the leading nobles was effected. They waited on the dying king and avowed their sorrow and horror at the murderous crime. The feeling that he was reconciled with all his people spread a shimmer of joy over Gustavus' last moments.

"There lay a shimmer o'er the days of Gustav,
Fantastic, foreign, pompous if you will,
But there was sun within, and though you censure,
Where would we be if they had never been?"

TEGNÉR.

CHAPTER XVII

REIGN OF GUSTAVUS IV ADOLPHUS, 1792-1809

A. INTRODUCTION

The Regency of Duke Charles. With Gustavus III an era passed away, an era of sunlight and shadows. "There was sun within." These words could not be said of the age that followed. It brought heavy, leaden skies. "Gustavus was dead, and the age of genius past." Gustavus' only heir, Gustavus IV Adolphus, was but a child when his father passed away. According to Gustavus' will, his brother, Duke Charles, assumed the regency.

The duke was a well-meaning man, but too indolent and fond of pleasure to rule, except in name. The real control of the government was in the hands of a stronger character, Count Gustav Adolf Reuterholm, a favorite of Duke Charles. He had been one of Gustavus' most bitter enemies and hence removed the

friends of Gustavus, the Gustavians, from all influence in the government. In consequence, the regicides received but mild punishment. Ancharström alone was put to death.

Reuterholm was great, very great, in his own eyes. Others have not succeeded in discovering his genius. But orderly and industrious he was, and so did much good for Sweden's domestic development. His rigid economy served the country well, industries began to flourish once more, and general prosperity increased.

Character of the New King. In 1796 Gustavus IV Adolphus assumed the reins of government himself. He was the very incarnation of order and economy. He resembled Charles XI much more than his hero Charles XII. In love of truth, in morality, seriousness, and piety he resembled them both. In obstinacy he rivaled his hero, but completely lacked not only his ability, but all that made Charles a hero. Gustavus III did not entertain any high hopes for his son. He is said to have remarked about him: "He will end unhappily, for he is narrow-minded and obstinate."

The brilliant Gustavian court life had come to an end. In the place of the royal charmer there was now a stern, unyielding, serious prince, whose dignity forbade him to jest or smile. The royal residence in Stockholm had become an enchanted palace of dullness and ennui, where everything seemed to have congealed, where at royal receptions one could neither sit down—for his royal majesty preferred to stand for hours in the middle of the floor—nor talk, scarcely whisper; to laugh was an offense. For poets' songs or artists' creations there was no appreciation from the throne.

B. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

The Meeting of the States-General. The same year that Gustavus III carried out his second revolution in the Swedish government, 1789, there began in France the great world movement known as the French Revolution. Great French writers like Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Turgot, and Diderot had prepared the minds and hearts of the French people for the great world events that were to be enacted in France. The bankruptcy of the French government finally compelled the king, Louis XIV, to summon the Estates of France, known as the States-General, which had not met for one hundred and seventy-five years. It was composed of about 1,200 members, more than half of whom belonged to the Third Estate or the unprivileged classes. It had formerly been the rule for the Estates to sit in separate chambers and vote in separate bodies, but now the members of the Third Estate insisted upon having the three Estates sitting together and voting as one body. This was the first act in the Revolution.

The National Assembly. The Third Estate carried their point, the Estates disappeared, and the new body, composed of the members of all the Estates, assumed the name of the National Assembly. The privileges of the nobles were abolished; church property was confiscated; a civil constitution was given the Church, and a national constitution was prepared and confirmed, establishing a government by a Legislative Assembly and the king.

Great masses of the nobles, deprived of their privileges, fled the country to Prussia and Austria, hoping to induce the princes of these states to rescue the king and restore the old order. In the mean time an attempted flight of the royal family had been made. Axel von Fersen, a devoted friend of the royal family, assisted in the plot and served as the disguised coachman of the royal fugitives. The attempt failed. The royal family was arrested near the French border, taken back to Paris, and placed under strict surveillance.

The National Convention. The new government under the Legislative Assembly and king failed, and a new assembly known as the National Convention met in September, 1792, to conduct the government and prepare a new constitution. The Convention established a Republic, deposed, tried, and finally beheaded the king in January, 1793. This led the European states to form what has been called the First Coalition against France. It was during this coalition that Napoleon Bonaparte arose, conducted a brilliant campaign against Austria, and put an end to the coalition by the Treaty of Campo Formio, in 1797. Two years later he made himself First Consul of France and five years later was crowned Emperor, 1804. Coalition after coalition was formed against him, always headed by England. For many years he was victorious against these coalitions, deposing princes, creating new states, establishing his brothers and a brother-in-law as allied or subject kings, until he was finally defeated at Waterloo, 1815, and banished to St. Helena.

Gustavus IV Adolphus and Napoleon. Gustavus III was a personal friend of the French royal family, from

whom he had received many favors. He had eagerly sought to unite the princes of Europe in a crusade against the Revolution. He would command the united forces, but before the campaign could begin Gustavus III was no more. His son, Gustavus IV Adolphus, inherited the father's hatred of the Revolution and transferred that hatred to Napoleon Bonaparte. His hatred of this political and social subverter had become an obsession with him. He saw in Napoleon the incarnation of all wickedness. He recognized in him the "great beast" of the Apocalypse. It should be a sacred duty of all upright princes to make war on him.

The Sacrifice of Finland to Napoleon's Ambition. Inaccessible in their island-world, the British would not submit to the dictation of the conqueror of continental Europe. The contest for the mastery of the world was thus to resolve itself into a duel between Napoleon and England. In an open and direct fight Napoleon was unable to subdue this sea power, for his fleet was far inferior to that of England. Then was born in him the thought to strike this commercial state in its most vulnerable spot, its commerce. It was to be accomplished by inducing all the states of Europe to close their harbors against all English trade. Thus England was to be deprived of the very source of her prosperity and to be starved out. This was Napoleon's well known Continental System, the most terrible war plan that has ever arisen in a human mind.

But to carry out this plan Napoleon felt that for a time he needed a confederate on the Continent. Such a one he found in Tsar Alexander I of Russia. After defeating him in the battle of Friedland, he met his

vanquished foe at Tilsit, in 1807, and surprised him with an offer of an alliance and a division of Europe between them. The lure was especially Turkey with Constantinople, the goal of Russia's proudest dreams for centuries. As yet, however, Napoleon was not ready to allow Russia a free hand with Turkey. It was in fact his secret plan to have a hand in the partition of Turkey to secure the chief parts for himself. For this enterprise he was not yet prepared. He must first thoroughly subdue Spain. In the mean time he had to satisfy Russia's land-hunger. For this Sweden seemed a suitable victim. Its king was Napoleon's persistent enemy and had refused to join the Continental System. The Swedish king could conveniently be punished with the loss of Finland. Denmark was to be compelled to assist Russia in the attack on Sweden.

While Russia was thus engaged in swallowing this morsel in the far North, Napoleon would find time to settle his affairs in Spain. While thus setting Russia against Finland, Napoleon was working to carry out his plan against England, a chief part of his world-embracing policy.

C. THE FINNISH WAR, 1808-1809

The Outbreak of the War. Without any declaration of war or sign of warning, the Russian army crossed the southeastern border of Finland in February, 1808. A few days before, the Swedish minister in St. Petersburg had asked the tsar what was the object of the mobilization of Russian troops on the Finnish border, and the tsar had replied that it did not in any way concern Finland. "God is my witness," he declared,

"that I am not seeking to take a single village of yours."

Klingspor's Retreat. The Finnish soldiers burned with a desire to drive the enemy back, but the commander, V. M. Klingspor, ordered a retreat, and this order was repeated day after day. On every hand the retreating soldiers heard the wail of the people, who were filled with gloomy thoughts of their homes and dear ones left to the mercy of the dreaded foe. Through immense snowdrifts, from five to six feet deep, and with the thermometer down to 22 below zero (Fahrenheit), the soldiers had to make their way. The tracks of soldiers' bleeding feet could be seen in the snow, according to the report of the second in command. Thus the Finnish army suffered itself to be chased from southern Finland to the neighborhood of Uleåborg in the far north, a distance of nearly 350 miles. And why? Simply because the commander had conceived the notion that the Russians had invaded Finland with an overwhelmingly superior force.

The End of the Retreat. Should these days of disgrace never end? Not before the command should be intrusted to a man with determination to restore the honor of the Swedish arms or die in the attempt. This man was the brave Karl Johan Adlercreutz. As soon as he had become the adjutant general under Klingspor, he faced about and won the victory of Revolaks south of Uleåborg. At last there was an end of the retreat. The spell was broken. The enemy was not invincible. The pursuing army had for some time been inferior in numbers. But this fact Klingspor had never ascertained.

With the battle of Revolaks the winter campaign was ended. The melting snow and floods made roads impassable and for a time interrupted the war movements. With the sun's rays there penetrated a ray of hope to the soldiers in the far North.

Forced back was Finland's noble troop,
To polar regions dragged;
Still in our bosoms there was hope,
Our courage never fagged,
For victory seemed within our powers
As long as Sveaborg was ours.

RUNEBERG.

But this hope was beginning to fade through rumors that came stealing in from the South.

Anon a whisper reached our ear,
Forth from the South it came;
It spoke of treachery and fear,
Dishonoring our name.
From mouth to mouth, from plain to plain,
It only met with proud disdain.

RUNEBERG.

At Sveaborg. During the winter campaign decisive events had transpired within the walls of Sveaborg. This fortress, defending the entrance to Helsingfors, was Finland's chief bulwark. It was largely built into the solid granite rock and was known as the Gibraltar of the North. Its commander, Karl O. Cronstedt, was reckoned, after his achievements at Svensksund, among the chief officers of the Swedish navy. But, like Kling-spor, he had the impression that the Russians were approaching with an overwhelming force, and that it would be impossible to defend Finland against it.

Among his subordinates were a number of traitors, bribed with Russian gold, who were secretly working for the "liberation" of Finland from Sweden. They finally prevailed on Cronstedt to surrender the fortress to the Russians. Thus Sveaborg yielded at the time the ice was clearing away and re-enforcements could soon be expected from Sweden. It surrendered to a force not larger than its own, with an abundance of supplies in food and ammunition.

The men complained bitterly and even wept with indignation when they heard of the capitulation, and among the younger officers there was talk of an uprising against the commander, but the leader was wanting. Thus the Finns were compelled to withdraw from their strong bulwark, and for the last time the blue-and-gold flag was lowered from the Sveaborg tower, and the Russian eagle rose in its place. The last act in the Anjala tragedy had been enacted.

The Summer Campaign. The stain placed by the capitulation of Sveaborg upon the Finnish army the land forces were permitted to wash away during the following summer's campaign. With the main army Adlercreutz drove the Russians southward in several fine engagements, the most important one at Lappo, East of Vasa, where he defeated a Russian army of equal strength. And away off to the eastward, in the wilds of Savolaks with its thousand inlets and capes, where the roads wind along between the narrow lakes, Sandels won achievements that belong to the most heroic in Swedish military history.

In spite of the loss of Sveaborg, it seemed that the recovery of Finland was not altogether hopeless. But

the Finnish army was too weak to do it alone. If aid would only come from Sweden, but the summer passed and no help came. The king had now other plans to occupy him. He would, forsooth, first take Norway from Denmark, which had been compelled by France and Russia to declare war on Sweden. When the attack on Norway had failed, he wasted valuable time with plans to occupy Seeland, and not until that plan had failed too, he turned his thoughts to Finland. But the forces which attempted to land on that coast were too few and were at once driven back. Then violent autumn storms set in, scattering and destroying the fleets attempting to land. Only a few thousand Swedish troops succeeded in landing and uniting with the Finnish army.

The Russians on the other hand received considerable re-enforcements and began a new offensive. The Swedes and Finns did, indeed, again and again drive back superior forces of the enemy, but soon a new retreat was begun with continuous fighting, now victories, now defeats. The war activities ended with "Oravais' bloody day, when victory itself became a defeat." In this battle the Swedes composed at least two-thirds of Adlercreutz' army and fought with a gallantry worthy of the days of Charles XII. But the Russians were too powerful. Finland's fate was sealed. It remained only to bring the worn and bleeding remnants of the army safely across to Swedish soil.

The Treaty of Fredrikshamn, September 17, 1809.
By this treaty Sweden ceded to Russia all of Finland, the Åland Islands, and the Swedish Lapp District with

Vesterbotten to the rivers Muonio and Torneå. This was the hardest treaty Sweden ever concluded. By it she lost more than one-third of her territory. Sweden and Finland were thus severed after a union of five hundred years. From Sweden Finland had received her religion, her social order, her culture, in one word, European civilization. Under the great tsar Finland was now to experience the "blessing" which the traitors had pictured to her people—a "blessing" from which the great majority of her people had by all means sought to be delivered.

Treaties with Denmark and France. Shortly after the treaty with Russia, Sweden concluded a treaty with Denmark (in Jönköping, December 10, 1809) and with France (in Paris, January 6, 1810). In both cases Sweden sustained no loss of territory. When these treaties were concluded Gustavus IV Adolphus was no longer king.

D. DEPOSITION OF GUSTAVUS IV ADOLPHUS

Calling Out the National Militia. While Gustavus IV left the Finnish forces to fight their battles alone, he was demonstrating his total unfitness in other military fields. For defense against the Denmark-Norway attacks the Swedish army was re-enforced by a national militia (Lantvärn), composed of unmarried men between the ages of 19 and 25. Willingly these young men hastened to the standards. But here, too, all hopes were to meet with cruel disappointment. Most of the young soldiers were never to meet the enemy. Poorly equipped and provisioned, they perished in large masses from hunger and exposure. Disease raged un-

mercifully among the starving soldiers, and nursing was terribly neglected. Those who returned to their homes came covered with rags, tottering like old men, and many with frozen limbs were crippled for life.

Causes of the Failure. The king alone was not to blame for all this misery. Many of the high officers and political leaders must share the blame with him. They imagined that if they could only rid themselves of the stubborn despot, Napoleon could be made their ally. Hence, they placed many obstacles in the king's way, even for the proper equipment of the militia, thus adding to the king's burdens, causing his head to reel and his mind to become clouded.

The king had never secured his people's confidence and co-operation, and hence it was easy to make him the scapegoat for all the ills of the country. The opinion spread more and more that he alone was to blame for the loss of Finland and for the sacrifice of the militia, the flower of the country's youth. It was thought best therefore to remove him from the throne.

The Arrest and Deposition of the King. On the 13th of March, 1809, Adlercreutz and a few followers suddenly entered the king's room in the palace to seize the person of the king. Gustavus drew his sword, but was at once disarmed. He escaped through a secret door to the courtyard and rushed toward the palace guard for protection. But he was arrested and carried back to his room. He was kept in custody until a Riksdag assembled and formally deposed him and extended the forfeiture of the crown also to his descendants (May 10). The king and his family were exiled from the country. His mental queerness increased, he separated

from his family, and for some time led a roving life. He finally settled down in Switzerland, where he lived in humble circumstances till his death, February 7, 1837.

CHAPTER XVIII

REIGN OF CHARLES XIII, 1809–1818

A. THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The Work of the Committee. When King Gustavus IV Adolphus was arrested, his uncle, Duke Charles, assumed the government as regent. The Riksdag which later assembled and deposed the king now found itself confronted with the task of choosing a new king. But first a new constitution must be provided—a constitution that would forestall a repetition of the evils of absolutism. Twice had the abuse of absolute power brought the country to the brink of destruction. The task was now to divide in a happier and more definite way the power between the king and the Riksdag. Such was the problem of the committee now appointed by the Riksdag to draft a new constitution.

With enthusiasm the members of the committee addressed themselves to their important and laborious task. The leading man of the committee was its secretary, Hans Järta, who as a youth had been an enthusiast for the liberalizing efforts of the French Revolution, and was known as one of the most dangerous opponents of absolutism, feared for his sharp pen. Endowed with a keen intellect, developed by a thorough

study of Swedish history and law, and coupled with a manly character and iron will, he was a finished statesman, who well knew what his country needed.

In the report in which the committee set forth the leading principles of their draft of the constitution, the following noteworthy statement appears: "The committee does not propose any great or striking changes in the ancient forms of our constitution. It has felt that such forms should not lightly be changed, least of all in the first moments of recovered freedom during a divergence of opinions then unavoidable. It has felt, what the example of Europe's freest state (England) also proves, that for a nation's public justice and the citizen's personal liberty and safety there is no stronger bulwark than such forms hallowed by centuries and strengthened by a common national force acting in them."

Adoption and Ratification of the New Constitution. The Constitution was accepted by the Estates June 5, 1809, and ratified by the new king the following day. This constitution, with various amendments made from time to time, is still in force.

Analysis of the Constitution. The constitution divides the powers of the government thus: the executive power is vested in the king, the power of taxation in the Riksdag, the legislative power in the king and the Riksdag. The highest judicial power is vested in a Supreme Court which had been established in 1789 and had assumed the judicial power of the Royal Council then dissolved.

The king alone has the power to govern the state. Hence, he has the right to begin war, conclude peace,

and form alliances. The right to begin war was an increase of the royal power over that in the constitution of 1772. The reason for this increase is the difficulty, in many cases the impossibility, of distinguishing between offensive and defensive wars. By this provision the constitution provides against such evils as the Anjala Conspiracy. Besides, in this as well as in other matters, the constitution provides against arbitrary acts of the king by establishing a Council of State, whose opinion must always be ascertained, and no order of the king is valid without the countersignature of the Council. The members of the Council are appointed by the king, but are responsible to the Riksdag.

The Riksdag alone exercises the time-honored right of the Swedish people to tax themselves. It decides the amount of taxes to be levied and how these sums shall be applied.

The Riksdag and the king enact the laws. "The king may not without the consent of the Riksdag, nor the Riksdag without the consent of the king, enact a new law nor repeal an old one," so reads the constitution.

During the session of the Riksdag three other constitutional regulations were enacted: the Law of Succession to the throne, the Riksdag Regulations, and the Regulations regarding the Freedom of the Press.

B. THE ELECTION OF A CROWN PRINCE

Christian August of the Augustenburg Family. Immediately after the adoption of the constitution the Estates chose Duke Charles king, as Charles XIII.



Charles XIII.

But he was old and feeble and had no heirs. Hence, a crown prince had to be elected. The leaders of the late revolution chose Christian August of the Augustenburg Family, who as general of the Norwegian army had proved himself friendly to the Swedes.

The new heir to the throne, who assumed the name of Charles August, soon won the

good will of the people by his frank and artless conduct. But the court and a large part of the higher nobility, who were adherents of the old royal family, known as Gustavians, would have nothing to do with him. They wanted the son of Gustavus IV Adolphus as heir to the throne. Those elegant men of the world and grand society dames made pointed remarks about the awkward and clumsy manners of the new heir, and some, especially the members of the haughty family of Von Fersen, showed him open disrespect.

The hopes which most of the people entertained respecting Charles August were soon blighted. One day in the spring of 1810, while at Quidinge, east of Helsingborg, reviewing the drill of the hussars, he was seen suddenly to lose control of his horse, which now ran off at full speed. The prince began to sway in the

saddle and finally fell backward to the ground. In a short time life ebbed away. The autopsy indicated that death had resulted from a stroke.

The Murder of Axel von Fersen. Insinuations that the prince had been poisoned quickly spread, and bitter slander fixed upon the family of Axel von Fersen as the younger instigators of the assumed crime. The leaders of the revolution must bear a heavy responsibility for the rapid spread of these reports. They feared that the Gustavians would now attempt to force the election of their candidate, overturn the revolution of 1809, and avenge themselves upon the authors of the same. Hence, they encouraged the embitterment of the people against the leaders of the Gustavians.

The day arrived when the body of the prince was to be conveyed to the palace in Stockholm. In the capacity of high steward Axel von Fersen, son of the noted leader of the party, took part in the procession, riding in his stately carriage. He was rich, aristocratic, and haughty. Against him it was easy to incite the masses. If he could be made harmless the whole Gustavian party would be helpless. He was attacked with stones by a wild, enraged mob and had to seek shelter in a private house, but the mob seized him and beat him till the last spark of life was gone. The violence continued a whole hour, in broad daylight, in the capital city, within sight of the troops, and almost within their lines.

Bernadotte, the New Crown Prince. After the death of Charles August a new heir to the throne had to be chosen. As such the Estates finally selected one of Napoleon's most noted generals, Marshal Bernadotte.

It was thought that above everything else Sweden must have a great general, who might raise the country out of its ruin. The story of this election reads like a romance. The government had concluded to elect the brother of the deceased prince. As the leading men wished to stand well in the graces of Napoleon, they sent a courier to Paris to inform the Emperor of the intended election.

The courier, a young lieutenant named Mörner, undertook to act independently in this matter. He thought, like so many others, that Sweden must have a general. But the intended candidate lacked completely all military talent. So young Mörner hit upon the plan of calling on Marshal Bernadotte and secured his consent to become the heir to the throne of Sweden if the choice should fall on him. With this project he hastened back to Sweden.

His proposition fell like a bomb in the Swedish council of state, but somehow it won many adherents. The result was that the candidate proposed by the council and elected by the Estates was not the Augustenburger, but the French marshal.

Marshal Bernadotte had behind him a remarkable career. He was born in southern France of bourgeois parentage. His father was a lawyer and he himself had been educated for the profession. He began his military career as a private. He soon rose to the position of a subaltern officer. Higher he could not rise, as he did not belong to the nobility. Then came the Revolution, which broke down all class distinctions, and within five years the subaltern had become a general. Napoleon's plans to make himself master of

France were opposed by Bernadotte. But when all efforts to check Napoleon's ambition became futile, Bernadotte entered into his service and won new glory.

He was raised by Napoleon to the position of marshal and prince. The Emperor, however, entertained a suspicion and distrust of his former opponent, and hence his election as crown prince of Sweden did not arouse the enthusiasm in Napoleon that the Swedes had expected. As if anticipating some fateful reverses, Napoleon sought to make him promise never to bear arms against France. But Bernadotte's duty as the future king of an independent state forbade him to bind his hands. "Well, then," said Napoleon, "go, and may our destinies reach their fulfilment." When they next met it was in a life-and-death struggle.

Charles John was the name that the founder of the new royal family assumed as heir apparent to the Swedish throne. In him Sweden received a new "charmer king." As if by enchantment he won over all that came into his presence. He was in the full vigor of his age. His fiery southern manner and his bearing indicated a bold energy in action—a complete antithesis to the feeble old man on the throne, who might at times fall asleep in the midst of the discussions in the council. Under such conditions the prince at once upon his arrival in Sweden, in 1810, became the actual ruler. The sleepy deliberations were at an end.

C. THE ADMINISTRATION OF CHARLES JOHN AS CROWN PRINCE

Revolt of Sweden from French Subserviency. Seldom has Sweden been in such dire need of a wise and

able leader as at the time of the arrival of the new crown prince. There was peace, it is true, but the country lay mutilated and exhausted. The Russian prime minister compared its condition to that of a dying man, whom one should not touch until life has fully gone out. The peace with France had been purchased at a great price. Sweden was compelled to join Napoleon's continental system. It would not only ruin Sweden's commerce and industry, especially the mining industry, but a war with England seemed also an inevitable result. In the meantime, however, a lively smuggling trade was carried on with England. But when Napoleon heard of it, he was filled with great anger and demanded that Sweden should at once declare war against England. Sweden had no choice but to submit to this humiliation. But before any declaration of war could be issued, the Swedish government had agreed with its coming enemy that it would be only a paper war.

It was soon brought to Napoleon's notice that the trade between England and Sweden was carried on as before, and that not a gun had been fired in the war he had ordered. His cup of wrath was now filled to the brim, and French troops were sent to occupy Swedish Pomerania. By this he thought he had completely quashed Sweden. But he had instead aroused the Swedish people's bitter resentment against having their country treated as a subject kingdom of France. "The gauntlet is thrown down," exclaimed the prince, "and I will take it up." Under his leadership Sweden armed herself for the coming conflict. To strengthen the defense of the realm a militia, or national guard,

was established, making every young man from twenty to twenty-five years of age liable to military service.

The Battle of Leipsic, 1813. Sweden did not have to fight alone. The alliance between Napoleon and Alexander was of short duration. In 1812 Napoleon invaded Russia to add even this great state to his mighty empire. He advanced at the head of the grandest army the world had ever seen, a force of about a million men. The Russians employed the same plan of campaign as against Charles XII, turning their country into a wilderness. Nearly the whole of the grand army perished from hunger and cold.

One oppressed people after another now rose in revolt. England, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Sweden formed a grand coalition against Napoleon in 1813. As a reward for the valuable assistance of Charles John, the allies promised that for the loss of Finland, Sweden should be compensated by the acquisition of Norway, which was to be torn from Denmark. The latter state still remained in alliance with Napoleon. By this acquisition Sweden would escape from her unfavorable situation, hemmed in between her two hereditary enemies, Russia on the one side and Denmark-Norway on the other. Old plans in Swedish politics were now to be realized, plans reaching back to Charles X and Charles XII, and which had more recently appealed to Gustavus III and Gustavus IV Adolphus.

At the head of 30,000 men Charles John landed in Germany in the spring of 1813. The allied forces now advanced from three directions against Napoleon, who appeared in Saxony with a newly recruited army. Charles John commanded the Northern Army, com-

posed of Prussian, Russian, and Swedish forces. Against this army Napoleon directed his chief attacks to break the iron ring with which the enemies surrounded him. But Charles John defeated the French troops in sharp engagements at Gross-Beeren and Dennewitz, south of Berlin. Finally the three armies concentrated their strength against Napoleon at Leipsic and during three days (Oct. 16, 18, 19) fought the great "Battle of the Nations," as it has been called. With the fragments of his army Napoleon withdrew. Europe was liberated. It was to the skillful strategy of Charles John that the allies in the first place owed their victory, his plan of the campaign having been previously accepted by the allies at a conference held at the Castle of Trachenberg near Breslau.

From Leipsic the allies advanced into France. But Charles John did not wish to enter his native land as an enemy. His duty as crown prince had compelled him to fight his former compatriots, but it was not against the French people he had fought, but against their despot. In fact, he had fought not only for the liberation of Sweden and her allies, but also for the freedom of France from a despot actuated only by an insatiable ambition.

The Treaty of Kiel. While the allies were continuing the war and compelling Napoleon to abdicate, Charles John seized the opportunity of securing his reward for the part he had taken in the late struggle. Like Torstensson and Charles X in former days, he invaded Denmark from Germany. He easily compelled Frederick VI to accept the terms of the Treaty of Kiel,

1814, by which the king ceded Norway to Sweden in exchange for Swedish Pomerania.

Norwegian opposition to the Treaty. The Norwegians would not consent to have their fate decided by foreign princes. They claimed the right to "set their own house in order." Times had changed since the fifteenth century, when Norway was united with Denmark. It then needed foreign support. During the long years of peace Norway had become prosperous through a flourishing trade with England. With the growth of prosperity there had also developed a strong spirit of nationalism. Their poets praised the "Norwegian mountain folk," and sang of this "land of ours" so glorious in both winter and summer.

The year 1807 had been an unfortunate one for the Norwegians. The English fleet had cut off their communication with Denmark from which they were wont to import their needed grain. Some bold adventurers would now and then succeed in carrying home some cargoes of this precious food, but most of them lost both ship and cargo and even life. The little that was thus smuggled in did not suffice. Many had to eat bark-bread, and many died of hunger. But the national spirit lived on. The thought grew apace that Norway's union with another land was a great danger. It was such a union that had dragged Norway without her consent into a state of war. Thus the national spirit developed into one of independence, which grew stronger from year to year. A fruit of this was the University of Christiania, founded with great national rejoicing in 1811. Such a country could not be given away by one king to another.

Norway's Independence Declared. The Danish prince, Christian Frederick, who was governor of Norway, summoned a National Assembly at Eidsvold, an estate north of Christiania. This assembly declared Norway an independent kingdom, adopted a constitution, and chose Christian Frederick king, May 17, 1814. The assembly then adjourned, but with a feeling that this matter was not to be decided by Norway alone, that world politics would soon demand a voice in the matter. At the hour of parting, however, they joined hands and pledged themselves to stand together "united and loyal, till the mountains fall."

The Union of Norway and Sweden. But from the east came Charles John with a victorious army and from the sea the Swedish fleet threatened. With ease they drove back the Norwegian forces and threatened Christiania. The Norwegians were compelled to negotiate. Christian Frederick ceased hostilities and abdicated. A Storting, that is, a Norwegian Riksdag, was summoned. It decided that Norway should unite with Sweden as a "free and independent kingdom under one king." Thereupon Charles XIII was chosen king of Norway, November 4, 1814.

This union was confirmed by the Congress of Vienna, a body composed of representatives of the European states assembled for the purpose of settling the affairs of Europe after Napoleon's power had been crushed.

Thus was the peace of the Scandinavian Peninsula assured, and the two peoples, now forming in all foreign relations one state, seemed to be facing a peaceful and happy future.

CHAPTER XIX

REIGNS OF THE BERNADOTTE FAMILY

A. REIGN OF CHARLES XIV JOHN, 1818-1844

Services of Charles XIV. In the year 1818 Charles XIII died, and the crown prince became king, as Charles XIV John. It is the imperishable glory of Charles John that he raised Sweden out of its degradation and weakness. He came with military skill and training and the vision of a statesman, all of which the leading men in Sweden lacked, and he saved the country from ruin and restored it to an honored place among the European states. His continued rule was in many respects beneficial to the country. The former warrior became a wise and cautious statesman. He gave peace to the country, a peace which it still enjoys.



Charles XIV John.

Drawbacks of the Reign. Aside from its many merits, the reign also had its drawbacks. The former general was accustomed to give arbitrary orders from his



Queen Eugenia Desideria (Bernadotte).

camp. He now had beside him a Council of State and a Riksdag, who in no wise accepted all his measures and plans, but who instead demanded a number of reforms, which he regarded as unnecessary and even harmful. His hot southern temper then blazed up, and the vehemence he showed at the least opposition appeared to the northerners worse than it was. Perhaps the son

of the South found it equally difficult to understand the northern temper. Unfortunately the king never learned to speak Swedish and in consequence remained a stranger to his people.

The Period of Reaction. The former republican Bernadotte did not become the friend of popular liberty and reforms that one might have expected. He had so often seen the name of liberty made to serve violence and oppression that he now feared its abuse and even liberty itself. It seemed safer and more comfortable to him to hold fast to what was old and tried, even though it might be defective. In almost every effort at reform he saw a danger to the present order, and especially to his own throne. It required only a thoughtless expression to expose one's self to a charge

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of treason, and the punishment was imprisonment. Such was the case with two persons who in a state of intoxication had drunk to the health of Gustavus, referring to the son of Gustavus IV Adolphus.

It should be remembered, however, that this opposition to liberty, this anxious fear of everything new, did not characterize Charles John alone. It possessed nearly all European princes. The people of Europe had passed through a period of violence and disruption during the Revolution and the subsequent wars. What Europe now wanted was rest. Hence, this period of reaction.

Opposition to the King. The king's arbitrary government and his opposition to reforms gave rise to an opposition party, which grew in intensity from year to year. In the newspapers and at meetings of the Riksdag this party denounced the king's arbitrary measures, and demanded reforms throughout the kingdom, especially extension of the freedom of the press and the abolition of the four Estates in the Riksdag, so that all the people would have an equal right to vote for its members. The advocates of these reforms became known as Liberals.

Their chief man among the nobility was Count Anckarsvård. His eloquence was of a kind to arouse his hearers and to carry them with him. In the long run, however, he was not very dangerous to the reactionary party. He dulled his weapons by his extreme love of criticism. Before long the government could not do a thing that Anckarsvård did not find fault with.

Among the peasants the opposition was led by Anders Danielsson of West Gothland. He was a lordly

peasant chief, who asked favors of no one, for he was conscious of his own worth. He was so highly esteemed by the peasants that he was chosen to represent twenty-seven districts, and, hence, had twenty-seven votes, or one-fifth of all the votes in the Estate of the peasants.

Struggle for the Freedom of the Press. The opposition appeared not only at the meetings of the Riksdag, but also in the press. It was at this time that the modern newspaper appeared. Hitherto the papers contained news items and advertisements, but did not discuss political and social questions of the day. In 1830 the young official, the highly gifted and cultured Lars Hierta, began the publication of *Aftonbladet* (The Evening Paper) in which he treated his readers to political discussions, presenting the views of the liberal party. His editorials were read with great interest by the people, for they were witty and clever and never gloomy. But like Anckarsvård's criticisms, they often went to extremes and were so fiery and ruthless that they failed of their object. Other opposition papers appeared, while the administration also had its defenders. The press had thus aroused a more lively interest in social and political questions, and it was now easy for each one to form a political opinion of his own. The press had become a power both for good and evil.

The government tried to put an end to the offensive *Aftonbladet* by means of the so-called "withdrawal office," which had the power to stop the publication of any paper deemed harmful in any way. The order was issued without an inquiry or investigation and even

without giving a reason for the prohibition. But the paper only changed its name after each prohibition, and thus continued its publication until the withdrawal office became a laughing-stock and was finally abolished.

The Triumph of Liberalism. The opposition had thus triumphed in its struggle for the freedom of the press. Likewise in its struggle against absolutism. This victory was won at the Riksdag in 1840. The opposition collected all its powers. It had received the powerful support of Eric Gustav Geijer, Sweden's greatest historian. The king was compelled to dismiss the most reactionary members of the council and appoint in their stead men of more liberal views. He was forced to give assent to a number of reform measures. The most desired social and political reform, however, the abolition of class distinction and the division of the Riksdag into four Estates, could not then be accomplished.

The King's Twenty-fifth Anniversary. After the Riksdag of 1840 the storms of opposition quieted down, and the octogenarian prince on the throne could celebrate his twenty-fifth anniversary as king amid the general and sincere expressions of his people's gratitude. Their thoughts went back to their country's days of weakness and humiliation when the French Marshal Bernadotte as crown prince had come to assume the affairs of government. It was a different Sweden now which under his wise direction had risen to an honored place among European states. This anniversary day, when the aged king was assured of the gratitude and love of all his people, he regarded as the happiest day of his life.

The King's Death. A year later his body was laid to rest in Riddarholm church. The former French republican burgher's son found his final resting place by the side of Sweden's most honored kings. "No one has had a career like mine," were among his last words.

B. REIGN OF OSCAR I, 1844-1859

Liberal Policies. By the year 1840 the liberals had triumphed over the stubborn resistance of the reactionaries. But the reforms did not make any decided progress before the reign of Oscar I. He had been regarded by his father as altogether too liberal, and, hence, had not been allowed to exert any influence on the government until the last years of his father's reign. Instead he had sought to prepare himself for his coming duties as king by a thorough study of social and political questions. He had also in various writings advocated certain reforms dear to him, as improvement in popular education, more equitable penal laws, and more humane treatment of prisoners.



King Oscar I.

On his accession to the throne he was greeted with enthusiasm by the friends of reform. He chose his advisers from the liberal party, and a lively reform

work began for popular advancement not only in economic well-being, but also in culture and refinement.

His Change to Conservatism. The question of abolishing the estates system remained unsolved during this reign, too, although the king himself proposed a plan to organize the Riksdag into an upper and a lower house instead of the four Estates. The liberals, however, did not give the measure sufficient support to carry it through. During the last half of his reign the king gradually withdrew from the liberal and approached the conservative party.

C. REIGN OF CHARLES XV, 1859–1872

On his death in 1859, Oscar I was succeeded by his oldest son, known as Charles XV. In his ways and tastes he was a truly democratic king. He liked to mingle with his people as one among them. Innumerable stories are told of this stately and handsome king in his travels throughout the country, of his joining with the common people in their festivities and everyday life, of his sprightly appearance and ready wit. He became unusually popular with the people. But his interest in the government was not so great. On one occasion he is reported to have said, "I place my honor in being a



Charles XV.

man in the first place and a king in the second." His aptitude lay along artistic lines. He loved gay amuse-



Oscar II.

ments rather than the dry, prosaic work of government, laws, and ordinances. In consequence he did not accomplish as much for his people as one might have expected.

D. REIGN OF OSCAR II, 1872–1907

As Charles XV had no son, the crown passed to his brother Oscar at his death in 1872. Oscar II was highly gifted along both artistic and scientific lines. His great endowments were further developed through wide reading and thorough study, so that he became the most learned and cultured among the European kings of his day. He was prominent as a poet and prose writer, and was regarded as one of the foremost orators of his country. His tall and stately form and noble features spoke of majesty and inspired respect. His kindness won his people's love and devotion. This trait was also noticeable in politics, which never became a mere matter of the head with him. When political conflicts arose, he placed himself above parties and tried to mediate and restore peace. But politics goes its own way, like nature's forces, regardless of wounded feelings and broken hearts. Of this the aged monarch had a bitter experience as king of Norway, where a revolution deprived him of one of his crowns in 1905. But it was a comfort to him that he succeeded in preventing a war between kindred peoples at the dissolution of the Union. In doing this he has merited their gratitude for all time.

E. REIGN OF GUSTAV V, 1907–

When Oscar II passed away, in 1907, he was succeeded by his oldest son, Gustav V. Plain and unaffected in his conduct, King Gustav has earnestly tried to realize his motto, "With the people for the fatherland."

In 1932 the twenty-fifth anniversary of his succession to the throne was celebrated throughout the king-



Gustav V.

dom in a hearty and becoming manner by a happy and prosperous people.

CHAPTER XX

ECONOMIC PROGRESS DURING THE BERNADOTTE PERIOD

A. IN AGRICULTURE

Increase in Acreage. It is a notable fact that the cultivated area of Sweden has quadrupled since 1800. Stress has been laid upon draining and cultivating the immense peat bogs and marsh lands of the country. There still remain in different parts of the country vast areas of such marshes to be converted into fields of waving grain. It has been estimated that the combined area of such unimproved marsh lands equals in extent one-half of all the cultivated lands of Sweden today. Hence, the soil of Sweden is capable of supporting a much larger population than the present.

Improvements in Methods. The arable lands of Sweden have not only been greatly increased in area, but have also been greatly improved in quality. As a result the yield per acre has constantly increased. This improvement is owing especially to scientific investigations and discoveries. The various soils have been carefully analyzed, and the elements needed for the production of different crops have been ascertained. It has therefore been possible to adapt the crops to the different soils and to put into the fields as fertilizers the elements needed. This chemical analysis has made it possible by the rotation of crops to dispense with the practice of letting the fields lie fallow every second

or third year, a practice which artificially reduced by at least one-third the crop acreage every year. With the rotation of crops the fallow-land system may perhaps be dispensed with altogether.

Introduction of Farm Machinery. Notwithstanding these improvements, agriculture does not hold pre-eminence among the occupations in Sweden as in former days. Only one-half of the people are now engaged in agriculture, whereas in 1860 three-fourths were thus engaged. The rural laborers have been attracted to the manufacturing industries in the cities owing to the higher wages paid there.

To offset this loss of farm laborers, machinery has been introduced. In many places the planting and sowing, the harvesting and threshing are now done by machines. This is the case not only on large estates, but a number of small farmers combine and buy the machines and then take turns in using them. By such co-operation the small farmers secure the benefits of large producers in getting better seed grain, feed, fodder, and fertilizers.

B. LIVE STOCK AND DAIRY PRODUCTS

Cattle Raising. Owing to sensible treatment of domestic animals, cattle raising in Sweden has lately reached a point of prosperity which has no parallel in past times. To this prosperity science has materially paved the way. It has indicated what breeds of cattle are best adapted to the varying climates throughout the country. It has led to a better stable hygiene and to checking the spread of infectious diseases among live stock.

The barbarous method of starving cattle during winter was in vogue to the middle of last century. The poor creatures were starved till they were so weak that when down they could not rise without help. This cruel practice was found to be uneconomical and has been abolished. Now cattle are properly fed during the long winter months, and cows give milk in winter as well as in summer.

The Dairy Industry. Not only has the number of cattle enormously increased, but the quality has also greatly improved. In weight the cows today have doubled, in some cases trebled and quadrupled, since the time of Gustavus Vasa, and in the yield of milk each cow, on an average, has doubled during the last decades. During the first half of last century Sweden did not produce enough butter for home consumption, while now she exports eight million dollars worth of butter annually. Community co-operative creameries have been established throughout the land, which afford even to the smallest producers the benefits of large production, as each member, however small, gets his proportional share of the proceeds.

C. FORESTRY

A Vast Source of Income. In her forests, especially those in Norrland, Sweden has a source of wealth which brings into the country from abroad a greater income than any other export. In fact, her timber and forest products, in prosperous years, equal one-half of all her exports. In addition to this the forests should be credited with all the timber and fuel they furnish for home consumption.

Protection of the Forests. In earlier times the forests in Sweden, as in other lands, were thoughtlessly wasted. Mature trees and saplings were indiscriminately cut down without any thought of planting young trees in their stead. In this respect people seemed to have no thought for the future. The bare mountain slopes and naked heaths, once beautiful forests, bear testimony to this waste. Nearly one-fourth of the surface of the country has been converted from forest land to desolate wastes.

But in Sweden it is not too late to mend much of this. Laws have been made for the protection and care of the forests. The cutting down of saplings and young trees is forbidden. Anyone cutting down a tree is required to provide for a new tree to take its place. Attention is also given to the care and healthy growth of the forests.

D. THE MINING INDUSTRY

Copper and Iron Ore. For centuries the Falun Copper Mine was pre-eminently "Sweden's treasury." During the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries it was undoubtedly the richest copper mine in Europe. Now, however, it is nearly exhausted, and iron mining has become the most important in Sweden. The output of iron ore is now over eleven million tons annually. This is, however, not over three per cent of the world's annual output. But in quality the Swedish ore is among the best in the world. Its yield of iron is from 60 to 70 per cent while most other ore now mined yields only from 30 to 40 per cent. It has been estimated that of all the ore in the world yielding over 60 per cent four-fifths are in Sweden.

A Desideratum. Sweden has an abundant supply of the finest iron ore in the world. She desires to make a more profitable use of it than simply to export it in a raw state. She is looking forward to establishing iron and steel manufactures on a large scale, but for this, great power is needed. She has scarcely any coal deposits, and importing coal or using charcoal would be too expensive. She has, however, abundant water power, which may be converted into electrical power. This is one of her great problems for the future.

E. MANUFACTURES

Origin of the Machine Age. The machine age owes its origin to the invention of the steam engine by James Watt in 1769. This important invention was followed by an almost endless series of machines extending to our own day. These machines have completely revolutionized the world's industrial system. The spinning wheel in the home has given way to the spindle in the mill, the hand loom to the power loom, the handicraftsman to the laborer in the factory, and the domestic system to the factory system.

Its Beginning and Spread in Sweden. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century the new industrial system has been developing in Sweden. Its first impulse was given by the English mechanic Samuel Owen, who established on Kungsholm in Stockholm, in 1809, the first Swedish factory using steam power. Since then one branch of industry after another has taken the steam engine into its service. The natural resources of the country, especially the forests and the mines, have by the power of steam been developed as never

before. There are at present about 12,000 factories in operation in Sweden, employing some 400,000 persons, with an annual output amounting to over a billion dollars.

In her manufactures Sweden's great handicap has been her lack of coal. Its importation has been too expensive. Her abundant water power now being converted into electrical power will remove the handicap.

F. TRADE AND TRANSPORTATION

Foreign Trade. Lively trade relations have been entered into with Germany and Poland, which offer a rich market for Swedish products. The direct connection with Prussia's railroad net by steam ferries between Trelleborg and Sassnitz is in consequence of great importance. Another encouraging circumstance regarding Swedish trade is the effort to dispense with middlemen and to deal directly with the producers—a good old policy from the days of Gustavus Vasa. Now regular steamship lines extend from Sweden not only to the large transshipment wharves of Copenhagen, Hamburg, London, Rotterdam, Antwerp, and other places, but, by subsidies from the state, also across the oceans to South Africa, North and South America, Eastern Asia, and Australia. The Swedish merchant fleet has considerably increased in tonnage during the last decade. A new day has dawned for Swedish commerce.

Construction of Canals. Swedish inland navigation was greatly enhanced by the construction of Göta Canal. A number of smaller canals had already been built. The most noted was Trollhätte Canal, finished in 1800.

Before this one might find even up to 900 horses for carrying shipments from the boats above the series of falls to the boats at the foot of the last fall. The locks at these falls were a triumph of engineering skill. At the Riksdag in 1809 it was decided to continue the work of uniting the Baltic with the sea on the western side of the country. As is usual when great enterprises are undertaken, the cost of this construction far exceeded the original estimate. Riksdag after Riksdag had to make



Baltsar von Platen.

additional appropriations for this construction. On account of many discouragements the work on "Sweden's blue band" was at times about to be discontinued. The opponents of the undertaking spoke sneeringly of the "Government ditch in which nothing would float, but the tears of the investors." But nothing affected the bold "Sea Bear" who led the great enterprise. With iron will Baltsar von Platen pushed forward the work, ably supported by the Councilor of Commerce Santeson, who devoted the whole of his large fortune to this enterprise. After twenty years of labor the canal was opened to traffic in 1829, but Von Platen did not live to

see his life's work finished. He lies buried beside the canal near Motala,

"By the billows he created,
On the banks himself had built,"

as Tegnér sang.

Railroad Building. The protagonist of Swedish railroad building was Adolf von Rosen, who had carefully studied the railroad problem in England. It was his proud dream to make Sweden a leader on the continent in peaceful enterprises by equipping her with a network of railroads. He labored in speech and press to gain supporters for his plan. But there was a stubborn opposition to overcome. Most people regarded "Railroad-Rosen" as "a little off."

Even in the Riksdag some alleged that in a country like Sweden railroads could be operated only in summer. Others held that people living along the lines would steal and carry off the iron for home use. The terrible fire engines rushing across the country like dragons and comets would scare the life out of both man and beast. The poor innkeepers, carters, and wagoners would lose their living and become charges of the parishes.

But Von Rosen continued his work in spite of all opposition, and finally at the Riksdag of the year 1853-54, it was decided to build trunk lines to serve as a frame work from which branch lines could extend to all parts of the kingdom. The direction of the state railway construction was intrusted to Colonel Nils Ericsson, brother of Captain John Ericsson, the builder of the Monitor. Colonel Ericsson's high character and un-

usual ability made him an exceptional leader for the great enterprise. The work went forward with rapid strides. Many private lines have also been built. The two systems furnish Sweden a network of railroads which in proportion to population is larger than that of any other European country.

The railroads of Sweden, as indeed those of nearly every other country, have contributed more toward the shifting of population than any other one thing. They have brought the markets, as it were, to distant mines and farming communities, and made them prosperous as never before. As an illustration might be mentioned the case of Kiruna in the far north. In 1809 it is said to have consisted of one hut. In a few years after the railroad reached it, there was a city of 7,000 people. It was the railroads that aroused to life the "Norrland mines with their slumbering millions."

CHAPTER XXI

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

A. ESTABLISHMENT OF A RIKSDAG OF TWO CHAMBERS

Abolition of the Four Estates. Half a century had passed since the adoption of the new constitution of 1809, and yet none of the plans proposed for the re-organization of the Riksdag had won the approval of both the king and the Riksdag. Then Louis De Geer entered the council as minister of state. He was the man who should accomplish it. He was not a genius,

least of all in his own eyes. But he was a clear-sighted, upright statesman.* And when he felt convinced that justice demanded the abolition of the Estates, he perceived it his duty to bring it about. Though he belonged to the highest Estate of the realm, he devoted all his power to the abolition of its antiquated privileges. Hence, under his leadership there was prepared a plan for a new organization of the Riksdag to be composed not of four estates, but of two chambers. He was determined to stand or fall with this proposition.

The first step was to overcome the opposition of the king, as Charles XV was opposed to the abolition of the Estates. But when he found that his indispensable minister, with a unanimous ministry behind him, was determined rather to resign his office than to withdraw his proposition, the king yielded.

At the Riksdag in 1865 the representatives of the Swedish people were to speak the decisive word. Everywhere throughout the country people thought and spoke of but one thing, the reform of the Riksdag. Newspapers were filled with fiery articles for and against the reform. From day to day the adherents of De Geer's proposition multiplied throughout the country. Finally the question came before the Estates. Among the burghers and the peasants the victory of the reform was a matter of course. A unanimous aye was the response of the peasants. Among the burghers the same response was almost unanimous. But in the two higher Estates there was a strong feel-

* In his memoirs he writes, "Feelings of hate and revenge I can not remember having experienced, perhaps because I have been very little exposed to any baseness of my fellow men."

ing against the proposition. In the meantime the clergy decided to postpone their decision till the nobles had given theirs. If the nobles should accept the reform the clergy felt that it would be unwise for them to oppose it. The fate of the proposition therefore rested with the nobility. It was of this Estate the reform required the greatest sacrifice. Their discussions lasted four days. Never were more brilliant debates heard among them. Strange it was to hear brother argue against brother and son against father. The vote revealed a handsome majority for the proposition. The following day, without the formality of a vote, the clergy joined with the other Estates in the decision. The triumph was hailed throughout the country with a jubilation never witnessed before.

Thus the Estates of the Realm of their own accord withdrew from the political arena. Never more would the worshipful knights and nobles meet to decide the country's fate; never more would the reverend clergy be called to political deliberations; never more would the licensed burghers differ from other citizens in the Riksdag; and evermore would the honorable peasant estate be a thing of the past.

"Laws may be changed, privileges may be abolished, but duties to the fatherland remain; and if these duties be well fulfilled, it matters little to the true nobility where their place in the community may be assigned." With these words the lord president closed his farewell address to the nobility.

The New Organization of the Riksdag. In the year 1866, the new regulations for the Riksdag became a part of the organic law of the realm. By these regu-

lations the Riksdag meets annually in two chambers. The first, or upper chamber, was composed of experienced and wealthy men. The age and property qualifications for eligibility to the second, or lower chamber, were lower. The two chambers have equal powers, so that if either chamber rejects a measure, the same is lost. To this regulation, however, there is an exception. Questions regarding the government's revenues and expenses must be settled. Should the two chambers disagree on such a measure the same must be decided by a joint vote of the two chambers voting as one body. In such a case the lower chamber has the advantage of numbers, having 230 members to 150 of the upper chamber.

B. THE THREE GREAT POLITICAL QUESTIONS

The Tariff Question. About the middle of the nineteenth century Sweden removed nearly all tariffs, and espoused the system of free trade. It soon became apparent, however, that she had conceded too much to the consumer at the expense of the producer. The weak Swedish industries could not compete in the markets, either at home or abroad, with the wealthy foreign manufacturers and were about to be crushed out of existence. And from the farmers, too, loud protests arose, when large quantities of grain were imported at low prices from Russia and the United States. Thousands of farmers sold their lands and emigrated to the United States to make a living. Sweden had a touch of the economic warfare between peoples, a warfare in which numberless victims are sacrificed without mercy.

Strong demands for protective tariffs were now made, especially when it was found that other European states were abandoning free trade. Soon there raged as bitter a fight between protectionists and free traders as in former days between Hats and Caps. The slogan of the protectionist was, "Sweden for the Swedes"; that of the free trader, "No Starvation Tariffs." The struggle ended with the triumph of the protectionists in the Riksdag of 1888. Ever since protective tariffs have been maintained. But the controversy between protection and free trade continues.

The Question of National Defense. During the long period of peace after 1814, the Swedish people seemed to have forgotten that in times past they were often called upon to defend their national independence. To the end of the century nothing was done for national defense. A foreign military attaché in Stockholm at this time wrote home to his government: "Sweden has no army, it has a guard." Anything like a serviceable fleet simply did not exist.

Only gradually did the Swedish people awake to the danger of remaining wholly defenseless in the midst of neighbors thoroughly armed. The danger came close to them when at the end of the century Russia began to overthrow by force the freedom of the Finns, and in disregard of Finland's law and right, to introduce Russian laws and courts. Then the Riksdag of 1901 decided to establish a national militia properly trained. Subject to service are all able-bodied men between twenty and forty-two years of age.

The Swedish fleet constructed during the last decade of the nineteenth century was an entirely new creation.

composed of large, well-equipped, modern war vessels. As a mark of the times an air fleet has also been provided. At the opening of the Great War Sweden's defenses were in a better condition than they had been since the time of Charles XII. She was thus enabled to maintain her neutrality, her independence, and her culture.

The Right of Suffrage. The new organization of the Riksdag, in 1866, had been hailed with delight. But nothing human is perfect. Voices of discontent were soon heard. Only a minority of the men in the kingdom had a right to vote, such as had an annual income of over eight hundred crowns. This money line of demarcation became more and more hateful. An ardent struggle for universal manhood suffrage began. At the suffrage meetings the poet Heidenstam's "Citizens' Song" was sung:

"'Tis a shame, 'tis a blot on the national flag,
That citizens' rights are called money."

When general military service was established, it was felt that the right of suffrage should also be made general. At the Riksdag of 1909 general manhood suffrage was enacted into law, and twelve years later, 1921, the same rights were extended to women. The age limit for both men and women was fixed at twenty-four years.

In each election district several members of the Riksdag shall be chosen in such a way as to give proportional representation to the various parties in the district. The difference in the qualifications for membership in the two chambers has been greatly reduced

and the salaries of members are the same in the two bodies.

In local elections the number of votes each citizen possessed was formerly regulated by his income. But in 1918 this distinction was abolished, and now each citizen (man or woman) has one vote, as in the general election of members of the Riksdag.

C. THE THREE GREAT SOCIAL QUESTIONS

The Woman's Problem. It was not only the handicraftsman that was crowded out by machine production. Much of women's work in the home was also taken over by it. What were the unmarried daughters in a home to do if they wanted to support themselves and not be a burden to anyone? All women could not marry as the proportion of adult men to adult women in Sweden is as four to five. Want was the unmarried woman's lot in the early days of machine production. She was barred from the right to learn a trade or practice a profession, and most women inherited only half the amount of their brothers.

In 1845 the first step in establishing woman's rights was taken, when the Riksdag decided that the inheritance of brother and sister should be equal. Another step in her emancipation was taken when the Riksdag decided that an unmarried woman was of age and responsible for herself at the same age as a man. The Riksdag has also from time to time opened a way for her to earn her support. She has been given the right to enter trades, professions, and government service. For a long time her highest aim was to secure the right

of suffrage. This reform was carried through the Riksdag of 1919 and was confirmed by the Riksdag of 1921.

The apostle of woman's rights in Sweden was Fredrica Bremer. She grew up at a time when a woman might not be a teacher or a physician or have an independent occupation. A girl might have a burning thirst for knowledge, a strong desire to do something good in the world, but was not permitted to follow her inclination, for it was regarded as improper for a cultured woman to study or work outside of the home. Of all this young Fredrica had a bitter experience. She writes: "I felt that



Fredrica Bremer.

I was born with strong wings, but felt, too, that they were clipped, and thought that they would ever remain so."

But the hour of deliverance would strike even for her. She became known and highly appreciated as a writer. But she never forgot what a gifted girl might have to suffer. She began a struggle for the deliver-

ance of her sisters from constraint and repression. This became the great aim of her life. She had long felt this inward call, but could not see the way to its accomplishment. In 1849 she made a voyage to America in the hope of finding light, and she found it. During a visit of two years she became well acquainted with the institutions established there for the training of young women for a fuller life. She returned home by way of England. The translation of her works by Mary Howitt had preceded her to America and prepared the way for her. She had been most cordially received there. Her impressions of America she published under the title, "Hemmen i Nya Verlden" (The Homes in the New World).

Having returned home, she now took up her pen again. But the novelist now became a social reformer. With enthusiasm she began to work for the establishment of schools for the training of young women. A storm of bitterness and scorn met her new authorship. But her courage never wavered, for she remembered what suffering she had endured under the bonds that had fettered the greater and better portion of her life. She would save others from a similar fate. She was permitted to see her ideas and efforts crowned with success.

In the Fredrica Bremer Association the woman's movement has its real center. The Association has placed as its aim to maintain a healthy and orderly development of its work for the uplift of women along moral and intellectual, social and economic lines.

The Temperance Movement. From the days of Gustavus III till near the middle of the nineteenth century

drunkenness increased at an appalling rate. Drinking at every meal was common throughout the land. To drink one's self drunk was regarded as an innocent matter. It was not an uncommon sight to find both judge and jury drunk while sitting to decide a person's fate. The average life of people at that time in Sweden was only thirty-five years. It has now risen to fifty-six years—the highest in the world.

The Swedish people stood at the brink of destruction when the great champion of temperance, Peter Wieselgren, arose. It was as pastor in a parish near Lund that he began his temperance work. Drunkenness with its attendant evils, dullness, coarseness, poverty, met him on all sides as he visited around in his parish. More than one of the poor victims that tramped about the parish had once been well-to-do peasants, but brandy had destroyed both them and their homes.

Here the young pastor took hold "in the spirit and power of Elijah," as a contemporary expressed it. He worked for the cause not only in his sermons, but also during his daily visits in the homes. Everywhere he met the same enemy, brandy, and the struggle was hard. More than once in their bitterness the worst drunkards decided to take the life of the brave preacher, but when it came to the decisive moment no one had the courage to lift a hand against the great man. One of these would-be assassins was a peasant who had been reprimanded by the church council for his shameful living. He sent word to the pastor that his wife lay at the point of death and wished him to come. The pastor had been warned, but he decided to go. Upon entering the house he found the woman

lying on the bed, groaning, apparently in great pain. He ordered her at once to get up, and she obeyed. Her pains were all gone. The pastor then turned to the peasant, who stood behind the door with an ax in his hand. "Put down the murderous weapon," came the order. The peasant obeyed. But when the pastor admonished him to give up his wicked life and ask God's forgiveness, he scornfully replied that it would be time for that when he should lie on his deathbed. "You will have no deathbed," said the minister. A few days later, in a drunken state the peasant fell into a well and was drowned. This event made a more powerful impression on the parish than the most powerful sermon could have done.

Finally there came a time when the people learned to appreciate their pastor. They began to see that all his efforts were meant for their good. The former wild and hostile congregation was completely changed. One after another of the members ceased to convert his grain into brandy. Prosperity and happiness followed in the wake of temperance.

Gradually the movement spread over the whole country. Many of Sweden's foremost men joined the movement, among them the crown prince, later Oscar I. Beside him were two such scientists as the chemist Berzelius and the noted physician Huss. The latter made scientific investigations of the effects of alcohol on the human body. He pointed out its evil effects not only on the drunkard himself but upon his children and children's children even to "the third and fourth generation."

The time came when all Sweden had its eyes open to the horrible ravages of brandy among the people, and there was a general desire for legislation against the evil. At the Riksdag of 1854 measures were adopted which put an end to private distilling. Henceforth only large and heavily taxed distilleries were permitted. As alcoholic liquors became dearer and harder to get, drinking was greatly diminished. At the same time the number of crimes diminished. Prosperity and refinement followed. The Swedish people were saved from a humiliating death through alcoholic poisoning.

The temperance work is still going on, but now more stress is laid on education and moral suasion. To get drunk is now regarded as a shame. Efforts are also made through lectures, study courses, and elevating amusements to keep people away from the saloon. Large temperance societies have been organized throughout the kingdom, numbering half a million members.

The Labor Question. The labor problems in Sweden have been the same as those in other industrial lands. There have been labor organizations, strikes, and lock-outs*; but the misery among laborers has not been as great as in many of the larger industrial lands. Social-industrial organization has been carried to a greater extent than in the United States. But communism, bolshevism, and violence have been on the whole successfully opposed.

Much has been done in the interest of labor through legislation. A normal working day has been estab-

* To the credit of the Swedish laborers it should be said that in all their labor agitations they never resorted to violence.

lished; protection to life and limb of the laborer has been provided; regulations regarding the labor of women and children have been made, protecting them from hurtful labor and overexertion, likewise regulations for compensation to the laborer in case of accidents or injuries while at work and aid in case of sickness. Loans are made by the state to laborers, enabling them to build their own homes; old-age pensions have also been established.

At the Riksdag in 1913 an act for a general people's pension was passed. Henceforth every citizen, man or woman, permanently disabled for work, and in all cases at sixty-seven years of age, is entitled to a pension. Hence, every person able to work must pay to the state an annual pension fee from the calendar year in which he or she reaches the age of sixteen years to the age of sixty-six years. This annual fee varies from three to thirty-three crowns (a crown = 26.8 cents) according to the annual income of each one. These fees with the interest are not sufficient to provide a proper support. Hence, the state and the local community also contribute to the support of the most needy.

The indolent, the drunkards, and convicts, however, receive no contributions from the state and the local community. In like manner those who have shown themselves obstinate and remiss in their contributions or who have made false reports as to incomes receive no contributions from the state and community.

This pension is more burdensome to Sweden than it would be to other lands, because there are in proportion to population nearly twice as many persons past sixty-seven years of age as in other civilized lands.

But there is a blessing with money thus spent. The aged, worn-out toilers need not suffer the humiliation of being treated as objects of charity. Those who in their days of strength have faithfully striven to do their part deserve a respectable living when no longer able to work.

CHAPTER XXII

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

A. THE SCHOOLS

Early Attempts at Child Instruction. Ever since the time of Charles XI the church law prescribed that the parish clerk should teach the children of the parish to read. But how this order was to be carried out in the large and sparsely peopled parishes was another question. Children might have a desire to learn and good ability for it, but of what avail was it when no schools existed in rural districts? It often happened that some old inebriate soldier or other impoverished fellow went about the parish and taught the children in the home for his food and shelter and occasionally a few coins. Such instruction was of course of the crudest kind. But it was something. Many children did not even get that much. Hence, there were many people who could neither read nor write. Only in the cities were schools more regularly established.

Establishment of Public Schools. In 1842 the Riksdag decided that there should be at least one public school established in each parish, and attendance was

made compulsory. The establishment of these schools has had a remarkable influence on popular development. Swedish popular education is not surpassed in any country and is equaled in few. Among those who have labored most efficiently for the development of popular education in Sweden the statesman and historian Fredrik Ferdinand Carlson deserves especial mention.

Public High Schools. These have been established to enable the young to increase their knowledge and to widen their outlook. The father of the public school was the warm-hearted Danish poet and orator, Bishop Grundtvig. His great idea was that the public high school should help the young students to make their knowledge fruitful in actual life, train them for good and useful citizenship, not to draw the sons and daughters away from manual labor, but to return them to it with new devotion for their life's work and with increased powers for it.

Other Schools and Institutions. At the same time that the public schools were established, men began to provide for vocational schools for the training of specialists along various economic lines. The demand for such schools has become more and more urgent as production has become more and more dependent on scientific investigation.

B. MUSEUMS

Skansen, an Outdoor Museum. At Skansen, on Djurgården, an island in the Stockholm archipelago, is the world's greatest outdoor museum. It was opened to the public in 1891. Here may be seen the modes of life of

the Swedish commonalty from different parts of the kingdom in generations past. The objects displayed are not imitations or fancied reconstructions, but the genuine articles themselves. The homes, larger and smaller, mostly log houses from different provinces, have been bought or donated, carefully taken down, moved to Skansen, and there set up in their original form. Barns, sheds, pens, charcoal-huts, tools, wagons, and other implements may also be seen. Within the houses may be seen the ancient furniture, kitchen utensils, clothing, etc. One may enter these houses, see all the rooms, and get a complete picture of the life lived two or three hundred years ago.

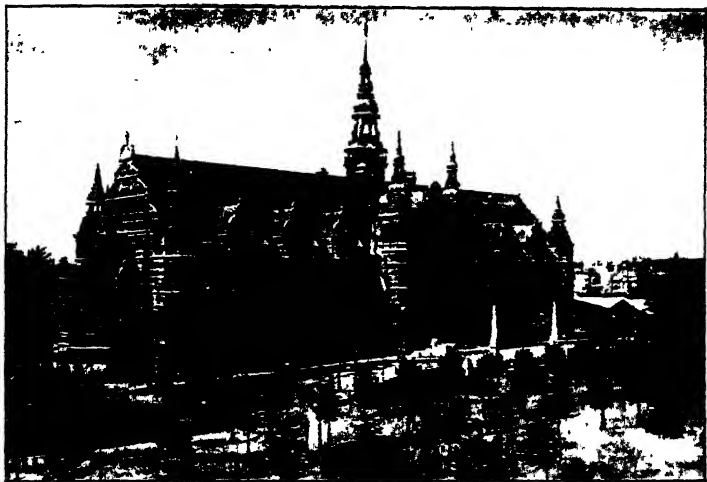
“What grandfather’s father wrought
In his generation,
To us children here is brought
For our contemplation.”

GELLERSTEDT.

The Northern Museum. This beautiful structure is located on the same island. Its building was begun in 1889. It was opened to the public in 1907. It is one of the best arranged historical museums in the world. The visitor may begin with the stone age, pass on to the bronze age and the iron age, then from century to century, and finally from decade to decade. Each age, century, and decade is represented by objects of its own production. It is a panorama of the history of civilization in the North.

Work of Arthur Hazelius. Both of these institutions are the work of one man, Dr. Arthur Hazelius. He had always taken a lively interest in finding and collecting

whatever pertained to the old Swedish folk-life. Old customs, which were passing away, old tools and implements, old furniture, articles of wear, household utensils, now fast disappearing—all this was dear to him. He also had the rare ability of interesting others in this his life's work. He never tired of soliciting



The Northern Museum.

gifts and contributions, hence he was called "Sweden's greatest beggar." But this was a title of honor, for he begged not for himself, but for his fatherland. His warm patriotism gave him the strength and the courage for this great undertaking, first to collect the immense sums needed and then the valuable articles. He saved from oblivion, for coming generations, this intimate knowledge of his people's life in ages past. He was buried on the island in the midst of the monuments to his great services.

CHAPTER XXIII

LITERATURE

A. THE NEW ROMANTICISM

A Movement of Reaction. The eighteenth century was the Age of Illumination. Everything should be measured, by the cool, sober intellect. Nothing but what was useful and practical was considered worthwhile. People were so rational, so practically rational, that finally times became unbearably dull. Even preaching in the churches took on the characteristics of the time. Thus on Christmas morn the minister, from the text of the Christ-child in the manger, would preach a sermon on the importance of the proper stabling and feeding of cattle. It was at this time that the beautiful evening hymn beginning,

“Now all the earth is resting,”

was changed, in harmony with fact and reason, to read,

“Now half the earth is resting.”

It was at this time, too, that people in solemn earnestness discussed the question of making use of church steeples for windmills. It seemed a pity to have them stand there without serving any practical purpose.

But happily man is not only a creature of intellect, but also of emotion and imagination. These long suppressed powers of the soul were at last to assert their

rights. So the period of the New Romanticism opened with its poetry and song. Its writers found comfort in escaping from the cold prosaic reality and dreaming themselves into peace and bliss in an unseen world of fancy.

Per Daniel Amadeus Atterbom. The foremost poet of this romantic movement was Atterbom. In his chief poem, which is also the chief poem of the whole movement, "Lycksalighetens ö" (The Isle of Bliss), he sings:



Per Daniel Amadeus Atterbom.

"Oh, if there were a magic
That would submerge our naked world of fact
So very deep in fancy's dream-world sea,
That never bridge could reach from our dull earth
To fancy's ever summer-verdant isle — —
I would at once, no matter what the price,
Exchange for such a blissful world of dreams
My conscious life."

Together with other romantic youths, Atterbom as a young Uppsala student founded, in the year 1807, the Aurora Association. It was an inspired band of young men who placed as the aim of their songs nothing less than to be the "dawn" of Swedish poetry. A new springtime had come for Swedish literature.

Johan Olof Wallin. The childlike trait of the new literature appeared in its fullest strength in a poet who stood very close to Romanticism though he never joined the circle of its poets. It was the great hymnist and



Johan Olof Wallin.

eloquent preacher, Johan Olof Wallin. From Dalecarlia's plain, earnest, God-fearing people he came. In poor and humble circumstances he was born. During all his youth he had to struggle against poverty and ill-health. But through it all his power of will was strengthened, which enabled him to bear up even when his physical strength wavered, and the

poor Dalecarlian youth finished his life as archbishop of the kingdom.

He was a most eloquent preacher. His powerful voice, according to one hearer, sounded like a strain from another world. People gathered in large masses to hear his eloquent spiritual sermons.

But it is especially through his beautiful hymns that his influence has been the most powerful and lasting. He composed, revised, or translated from foreign

sources most of the hymns in the Swedish Hymn Book of 1819. This hymn collection Geijer declared to be one of the greatest any tongue can show. Tegnér compared it to the Old Testament Psalter, and called Wallin "David's Harp in the North."

His most notable poem is no doubt his swan song, "The Angel of Death," which begins:

"Ye sons of Adam, of earth engendered,
Who shall return unto earth again,
Ye are my victims, your doom was rendered
When sin first entered the world of men."

It ends with the drying of all tears, the end of all pain, the opening of the portals of immortality, the angel of death becoming a seraph and joining with the redeemed in the songs of praise before the throne of God.

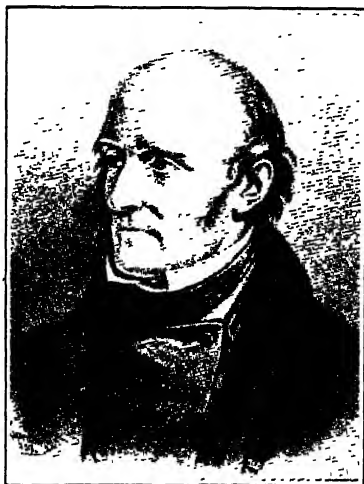
B. THE GOTHIC SCHOOL

The Gothic Society. The New Romanticism did not have to struggle alone very long against the faults and weaknesses of the past. A sense of the danger that threatened Sweden at the time of the deposition of Gustavus IV, and grief over the loss of Finland made a deep impression, especially on the young, and caused a wave of patriotism to spread over the country side by side with Romanticism. The central point of this national awakening was the Gothic Society, organized in 1811 in Stockholm by a few patriotic youths, mostly from Vermland. Its chief aim was to revive the old Gothic love of freedom, courage, and sincerity, and encourage the study of old Gothic history and tradition. In this society belonged a number of men who

made a name for themselves in Swedish literature and art, men like Ling, the founder of Swedish gymnastics, Geijer, Sweden's greatest historian, and Tegnér, its greatest poet.

Per Henrik Ling. Among them the most original old Goth was Ling, "the Asa-bard and champion" as he was called by his contemporaries. To him, gymnastics and literature coalesced into one purpose, to infuse new strength into the weakened descendants of the old Goths. He was born in Ljunga, in the poorest and wildest part of Småland. Like so many other prominent men of Sweden, he was a minister's son. In early years he lost both father and mother, and had to shift for himself and became inured to want and hard work.

In childhood and early youth he was not of robust health. To strengthen himself he engaged in fencing and gymnastics. By this means he soon changed the sickly youth into a giant in strength. He discovered what a source of health and strength proper exercise is. He would now teach his people this simple remedy for weakness and dullness. He made a thorough study of anatomy and developed a system of gymnastics that



Per Henrik Ling.

would afford each muscle of the body its proper exercise. Thus he became the founder of Swedish gymnastics, the principles of which have been adopted by most civilized countries. He made gymnastics a real art. This was his great life's work, the work for which he is especially remembered, though he is also known for his literary productions.

Erik Gustaf Geijer was born at Ransäter in Vermland. His parents were well to do. His father was the owner of the ironworks at the place. It was a happy and hospitable home he came from. He writes: "I thank God for the best of parents. The happy spot their kindly care hallowed remains as sunshine in my breast." Through rambles in forest and field, skating excursions, and swimming bouts he developed into a strong and robust youth. He re-



Erik Gustaf Geijer.

mained an enthusiastic sportsman to the end of his life. He first became known as a poet. Among his most noted short poems are, *The Viking*, *The Freeholder* (*Odalbonden*), *The Charcoal Boy*, and *The Last Scald*. He was also a composer of music and wrote the melodies of many of his songs. But he is greatest as a

historian. As Professor of History in Uppsala University, he wrote the "History of the Swedish People." He laid stress on truth and aimed to show his people what their forefathers had borne without fainting. Thus he would steel the descendants of mighty northmen. As a model in the art of writing history Geijer had Lagerbring of the eighteenth century, who may be called Sweden's first scientific historian. He tested carefully all his sources and kept only what he found to be true.

Anders Fryxell. Geijer's opposite in the manner of writing history was in many respects Anders Fryxell, a churchman in Vermland, who became the most widely read of all Swedish historians. While Geijer's language presupposed a high culture in the reader, Fryxell, in his "Stories from Swedish History," wrote in a style adapted to the young and the masses. In vivid narrative art he is a master. Hence, his stories have become favorite reading for youth and common people.

Esaias Tegnér. Like Geijer, Tegnér was born in Vermland, but unlike Geijer he did not long enjoy the quiet and happiness of home. His father, who was a churchman of limited means, died when the boy was only ten. He was soon compelled to leave home and make his own living. He secured a position as assistant secretary to a crown official. His employer soon discovered the boy's ardent love of books and reading, and his remarkable talent. "Esse," he would repeatedly say, "you are too good to sit here and copy figures under me." He soon secured opportunities for the boy to study.

With an iron will coupled with genius, he made remarkable progress, and, in 1812, at the early age of thirty, he became professor in the University of Lund. The year before, his name had been borne on the wings of fame to every part of the kingdom. His first great patriotic poem "Svea" had been written in 1811. It opens with the following reproving words:



Esaias Tegnér.

"Land, which has nourished me and hides ancestral ashes,
Ye heirs of heroes, but forgetful of their virtues,
Forth from my quiet nook, I tender you a song;
The voice of flattery lulls, hear that of truth for once."

The poem secured for its author the grand prize of the Swedish Academy.

Tegnér's most celebrated work is his great poem on the Viking Age, "Fritjofs Saga," which has been translated into a large number of foreign tongues, and has placed Tegnér among the world's great poets. One of his most beautiful poems is "The Children of the Lord's Supper" (*Nattvardsbarnen*).*

* It has been rendered into excellent English by Longfellow.

At the age of forty-two, Tegnér was appointed Bishop of Vexiö. This office he held for twenty-two years, or till his death in 1846. In this capacity he had many opportunities to appear as a speaker. His fiery, sparkling genius made him one of Sweden's foremost orators. Masterpieces are also his letters, which of their kind have no parallels in Swedish literature.

C. THE FINNISH SCHOOL

Johan Ludvig Runeberg. In race, education, and authorship Runeberg belong to Swedish culture. He was born in Finland in 1804. As a young student he formed the acquaintance of an old officer from the Finnish War, who had much to tell of its heroes. The young student began to feel a deep love and admiration for the army "that froze, and starved, and conquered with it all." In after years he put these stories into verse, which became the immortal collection known as "*Fänrik Ståls Sägner*" (Tales of Ensign Stål).



Johan Ludvig Runeberg.

Runeberg's treatment of his subjects was something new in Swedish literature. His characters are not creatures of fancy and imagination, but real men and

women as we find them in every-day life. They are Finland's and Sweden's plain, faithful sons. As they once lived their life with their faults and merits, such they live in literature. We see them with all their angularities and peculiarities, stern and silent, on the surface hard. And yet they appeal to our hearts. We find such characters beautiful in spite of faults, for within the rough exterior there is a genuine pearl. That is why we can live and sympathize with the army "that froze and starved and conquered with it all."

Zacharias Topelius. Finland's most distinguished writer after Runeberg was his pupil and friend Topelius. He was especially a children's writer. He has spread gladness and goodness among millions of children through his charming stories for children. He has given his readers, old and young, in his *Surgeon's Stories*, a series of most enchanting historical novels. He died at the age of eighty in the year 1898.

D. A NEW BRILLIANT PERIOD IN LITERATURE AFTER 1860

Viktor Rydberg. In 1828, there was born to a poor subaltern officer in Jönköping a son who became one of his country's noblest writers and thinkers. Viktor Rydberg was a scion of an old peasant family. He was a genuine Swede in thought and language, and prided himself on the fact that

"To Arian blood, the purest and the oldest,
To be a Swede he was ordained by friendly Norn,"

as he sings in his swan song.



Viktor Rydberg.

The brightest memory from his childhood, which he carried with him through life, was the image of his early departed mother. His yearning for the noble, the exalted, the eternal, which marked his personality, had been instilled into him by his good and self-sacrificing mother. She taught him not to fear anything except to do wrong, that in reality

there is no other great danger.

The passing of that noble woman completely crushed her husband. He began to be queer and had to resign his position. This broke up the home. Little Viktor, only six years old, had to experience life's vicissitudes under a strange roof. It was often hard, but his rich gifts carried him forward, and finally he became a professor in Stockholm. To the children and youth of Sweden he is especially known as the author of "Little Vigg's Adventures on Christmas Eve," "The Freebooter on the Baltic," and "Singoalla." His splendid poem "Dexippos" will ever inspire the young to self-sacrificing achievements. "The Last Athenian" is his most celebrated novel.

The most beautiful of Viktor Rydberg's poems is perhaps his Cantata written for the four hundredth

anniversary of the founding of Uppsala University. Those sublime stanzas will never die.

"Your noble thoughts, what you in love would do,
What beauty dreamed, can ne'er by time be marred;
Time from their harvests is forever barred,
For they do to eternity belong.
Advance, humanity, with joy and zest,
You bear eternity within your breast."

Carl Snoilsky. As a youth enamored of life and intoxicated with sunshine and the flowery South, Snoilsky is first met with in the world of poetry and song. It is an ardent worship of all beauty in the world that meets one in the youthful traveler's Italian and Spanish pictures.

But of a sudden his tone changes to deep sadness. Whence came this chilly autumn frost upon him? The poet is too proud to tell. He only says:

"I make not public my heart's joys and woes
For unknown strangers' hands to seize and wrinkle."

Was it, perhaps, when he was made to choose between a life of poetry and song and one of statesmanship and dry diplomacy, and chose the latter?

But in the second spring, the poet left his diplomatic course and settled down once more beneath the southern sky. The memory of his northern home now seized him with irresistible force, and thus were born his "Swedish Pictures." Here he followed the footsteps of Runeberg and Topelius. Thus Snoilsky became a singer of two immortal springs, a southern and a northern; and thus is heard a double surge or murmur, from the Mediterranean and the Mälar, in his artistically finished verses.

In his "Swedish Pictures" he sings the praises not only of heroic exploits on the battle field, but of peaceful achievements as well, and of the power to endure pain and privation, which has enabled the Swedish people to pass through so many trying times.

One of the most beautiful traits of this, by birth and character, noble knight was his sympathy with the toiling masses in their struggle toward light and freedom. Evidence of this trait may be seen in his poems such as "The Serving Brother." In his clear and beautiful diction, Snoilsky is an heir of Kellgren and Tegnér. He has been called "the last Gustavian" in Swedish literature.

E. REALISM AND IDEALISM AFTER 1880

The Nineteenth Century. Although Romanticism had its beginning near the opening of the nineteenth century, that century was not favorable to it. It came to be the age of steam, of railroads, and of machine production, ending with social, industrial, and political struggles. Stern reality soon claimed and received the people's interest. The dreams of Romanticism faded away. The age of untility had returned. Romanticism with its hostility to reality and its sentimentalism did not belong to an age of materialism and activity.

August Strindberg. The foremost name in Swedish realism is August Strindberg, and his pioneer work in this line is "The Red Room." This realism is not pleased with life, as Runeberg's was. It aims to lay bare the misery and wretchedness of society, and hence often becomes bitter and gloomy. The teachers of Swedish realism were the three noted Norwegians, Ibsen, Björnson, and Lie.

Strindberg was a restless spirit, who had investigated all departments of life, but had never felt satisfied. Nature alone had afforded him moments of peace. In its bosom he could at times forget men's petty rivalries, and even forget his own torn self. His stories from the Swedish skerries (Skärgårdsberättelser) are therefore among his best writings. It is genuine realistic art. Splendid passages are also found in his historical sketches, "Swedish Fortunes and Adventures," as well as in his plays, "Mäster Olof" (Olavus Petri), "Gustaf Vasa," and "Eric XIV."

New Idealism a Reverse to Realism. The Realism of the latter part of the nineteenth century felt convinced that Romanticism had faded away, and yet it lived on. Its sentimentalism and its scorn of reality were, indeed, gone. But the thought of the infinite and eternal in the human soul can not die. The divine gift of fancy can not be denied us lest we die. The tendency which struggles for these two realities in the human soul, high thoughts and ideas, is Realism. To this school belonged, in the first place, Viktor Rydberg. He was followed by a large number of writers, among whom are Fröding, Hallström, Karlfeldt, Heidenstam, and Lagerlöf.

Verner von Heidenstam. It was the joy of life whose praise young Heidenstam sang in his early verses. To be young and happy, to be allowed to be glad, this had not been permitted to a genuine realist.—There were so many social problems yet unsolved.—As if all periods did not have their special problems to solve! and as if one could solve them better in a melancholy mood!

In his later writings there appears a strong love of Sweden and her great memories. We meet this patriotism in his work "*Karolinerna*," a book on Charles XII and his men. There we read concerning the fall of Sweden as a great power: "Beloved by the people, who in the fall of their greatness made their poverty honored before the world." For the young, Heidenstam has written "*The Swedes and Their Chieftains*." Like the men of the Gothic school, Heidenstam would revive the ancient race-strength of the Swedes, and place high ideals before them. Proudly sounds his appeal to his people in his poetical collection, "*Ett Folk*":

"No people must be more than you,
This is the aim, whate'er the cost be."

Selma Lagerlöf. In "*Gösta Berlings Saga*" Selma Lagerlöf is revealed as the great saga-teller in Swedish literature. How rich is this work in imagination, in wonderful adventures in the deep Vermland forests! In this work Selma Lagerlöf glorifies the adventurous, the knightly, the care-free, roaming disposition of the Swedes, as exemplified in the life of the "Cavaliers" in Ekeby manor house.



Selma Lagerlöf.

In her work "Jerusalem" she takes the reader far into Dalecarlia among the ancient peasant families. In the first chapter she draws a fine picture of a Swedish peasant. "There was a young man," she says, "who was plowing his fallow one summer morning. The sun shone bright, the grass wet with dew, the air fresh beyond words to describe. . . . He thought within himself, 'How is it that, at times, I worry much and life seems hard? Can anything more be needed than sunshine and fine weather to make one as happy as a child of God in heaven? And such an estate as this, its many well-built houses, and fine cattle, and splendid horses, and servants true as gold. You are at least as rich as any one in the district, and you never need fear poverty. It is not poverty I fear. I would be satisfied if I only were as good a man as my father or my grandfather.' "

Such peasants were they who could voluntarily leave the dearest they had and go forth with Engelbert and Gustavus Vasa to fight for right and freedom. They could also sell goods and lands when the voice sounded in their ears the strange summons, "To Jerusalem, God's Holy City." And then is told the gripping true saga of a religious awakening spreading over one of the large parishes in Dalecarlia, where many of the people leave their homes and go forth on the long pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

She has told many other sagas to old and young. In "Nils Holgersson's Travels" she has given the Swedish children beautiful pictures of their long land and immense forests, the red peasant houses, and the rushing rivers.

Thus Selma Lagerlöf has shown us how much beauty there is in life, and how much good is happening in our world. The same world in which Strindberg finds only misery, meanness, and vice is to Selma Lagerlöf as to Viktor Rydberg a world in which the good is moving on to victory. But one type of man is reprehensible to both, the egotist, who thinks only of his own little fortune and would rise by putting others down.

CHAPTER XXIV

ART AND SCIENCE

A. PAINTING

The Art of Painting has had a slow development in the North. Not until our own day has Sweden had any great painters. Now, however, her masterpieces in this art rank among the foremost in the world. Her most distinguished historical paintings are by George von Rosen and Gustav Cederström.

George von Rosen. In his historical paintings von Rosen aims especially to express the soul life of his characters. In his celebrated painting, "Eric XIV," one can see Eric's anguish of soul. One can see him, as it were, hesitating between Göran Persson, who urges him to sign the death warrant, and Karin, his good guardian angel.

Gustav Cederström. One of the most popular of Sweden's historical paintings is that of the Funeral

Procession of Charles XII. The artist Cederström never reveled in colors; he used but few and those of a somber hue. In this case his colors comport well with the subject of the painting. In other paintings he has faithfully represented scenes from the time of Charles



George von Rosen's "Eric XIV."

XII. No other painter has so well as he represented the silent greatness and manly gravity of the Carolinians.

Julius Kronberg, a "poet in colors," is best known to the children of Sweden for his beautiful Bible pictures. He lent his art as a handmaid to architecture and is especially well known for his beautiful ceiling paintings in a number of Sweden's public buildings. He is also noted as a portrait painter.

Richard Bergh was pre-eminently a portrait painter. His works are not many, but they are the result of deep study and hard work. His aim was to give expression to the soul life of his subjects. His art may therefore be truly called the art of the will and the intellect.



Funeral Procession of Charles XII.

Prince Eugene. In his beautiful "Swedish Landscapes" Prince Eugene has given us a rare collection of nature pictures. For a peaceful, idyllic effect he often chose the subdued light of evenings or the beautiful summer nights.

Bruno Liljefors is the painter of animal life as found in the deep forests, on the plains, and on the eastern shores, among the inlets and isles of his native land. A genuine love of nature finds utterance through his pictures.

Karl Nordström was another landscape painter. Unlike *Liljefors* he chose the western shores of his country for his pictures. He loved their grand scenery, the surging sea, the steep cliffs, and bald rocks. Like Prince Eugene he preferred the subdued light of evening.

Carl Larsson was one of the most popular of Swedish painters. His happy disposition is revealed in his paintings. As a painter of home life and home joys he has no superior. His largest and boldest works are the wall paintings of the stairway approach to the National Museum.

Anders Zorn was one of Sweden's most celebrated painters. He is especially a master of the difficult art of transferring from actual life to the canvas the finest shifting of light and shadow. He is famous alike for his portraits and his etchings.

B. SCULPTURE AND ARCHITECTURE

Sculpture. This art too enjoys a flourishing development in Sweden today. Many prominent artists can be named, such as John Börjeson, known for his fine statues; Per Hasselberg, mourned at his untimely death and remembered for his works, "The Snow-drop," "The Water Lily," "The Grandfather," and others, into which he has infused his ardent love of life and youth; Christian Eriksson with his artistic skill showing his worship of life's beauty-values; and Carl Milles, the foremost living Swedish sculptor. Besides his many other works, he has modeled the majestic figure of "Old King Gösta" in the court of the Northern Museum.

Architecture. Noted architects of Sweden today are Isak Gustav Clason, Ferdinand Boberg, and Ragnar



Jöns Jakob Berzelius.

Östberg. Clason's greatest masterpiece is that monumental structure, The Northern Museum. It is noble, solid art of a genuine national character. Clason's art

ever aims at being a growth from the glorious old foundation. He is the leader of the historical trend of modern Swedish architecture, while Boberg has sought new architectural forms, expressive of his bold personality. The post office building in Stockholm is one of the most monumental creations of this tendency in the art. Stockholm's most imposing and admired structure of the present day is the city hall, a creation of Ragnar Östberg.

C. SCIENCE, INVENTION, AND EXPLORATION

Jöns Jakob Berzelius was born of very poor parents in 1779. In tender years he lost both father and mother, and became an object of charity in the home of relatives. After many a hard struggle he became professor in the Carolinian Institute in Stockholm. Chemistry became the chief subject of his study and investigation. "There is not a department in the whole field of chemistry to whose development Berzelius has not contributed," is the testimony given by a prominent German chemist. By inventing the simple system of notation by letters and figures Berzelius rendered the same service to chemistry that Linnæus did to botany.

Berzelius became a man of European reputation and received many attractive calls to foreign universities, but he declined them all. To his fatherland he would devote his powers. He died at the age of sixty-nine in August, 1848.

John Ericsson. Not soon shall the memory of that September day, 1890, pass from the minds of the Swedish people, when the United States Cruiser Baltimore,

under the command of Admiral Schley, brought to the land of his birth the earthly remains of an aged Swedish gentleman. This man had lived the greater part of his life outside of Sweden, but had expressed the wish that he might find a final resting place in his native land. His name was John Ericsson.

In a poor home in Vermland he had grown up together with his brother Nils, the destined builder of the Swedish railroads. To draw and make experiments had always been John's delight. But at that time Sweden was poor and its industries little developed. Hence, John Ericsson had not the chance to develop his many mechanical ideas at home. He decided to go to England, the "Promised Land" of mechanics and industries. There he made a large number of inventions, the most important being that of the propeller. The English admiralty failed to accept his invention, and Ericsson left England for the United States in 1839.

Here he was given, almost immediately, an order for the construction of a war vessel on the propeller plan. It was known as the Princeton. It proved a success and at once revolutionized the navies of the world. In 1861, John Ericsson was given a new order by the United States. It resulted in the construction of the Monitor, which successfully met the Merrimac in a ship duel March 9, 1862. This battle prevented an attack on Washington, made good the blockade of the Confederate States, and contributed powerfully to Lincoln's final triumph. For a second time Ericsson revolutionized the navies of the world.

Ericsson was not intoxicated by his successes. In his quiet, patient way he continued his work, ever making

new inventions. Work was his life. The money earned he spent on his experiments or in helping needy friends



John Ericsson.

and unfortunates. His love for his native land never languished.

Along the way to the public school at Långbanshyttan in Vermland is placed an iron memorial with

the following inscription: "In a miner's home at Långbanshyttan were born the brothers Nils Ericsson, the 31st of January, 1802, and John Ericsson, the 31st of July, 1803, who have both served the fatherland. Their way through work to knowledge and immortal fame is open to every Swedish youth."

Alfred B. Nobel. In 1867 Alfred Nobel, a Swedish engineer, patented his invention of dynamite. This is one of the most destructive forces man ever invented, but if properly used is one of man's great benefactors. Such great engineering works as railway tunnels of miles through immense mountain ridges, and grand canal construction, such as that of the Panama Canal, could not have been accomplished without almost infinite labor and expense, except for dynamite. Its saving to the world during the first half century of its use amounts to billions of dollars.

Alfred Nobel died December 10, 1896, bequeathing nearly his whole estate, estimated at \$9,000,000, to the founding of a fund, the interest of which should be distributed each year to such persons as had during the preceding year contributed the



Alfred Nobel.

most toward the benefit of mankind along the lines of Physics, Chemistry, Medicine, Literature, and Peace. The prizes in Physics and Chemistry are awarded by the Swedish Academy of Science, in Medicine by the Stockholm Faculty of Medicine, in Literature by the Swedish Academy, in Peace by a committee of five elected by the Norwegian Storting. The Fund is managed by a Board of Directors, whose chairman is appointed by the Swedish government. The office of the Board and residence of members is Stockholm.

Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld. The Viking disposition, love of adventure, is deeply rooted in the Swedish mind. But for this, so small a people as the Swedish nation could never have played the role in history which they have done. The polar regions, the northern waters, have especially attracted them. The most noted of Swedish explorers during the last century was Nordenskiöld. He was born in Helsingfors in 1832 and became professor of Mineralogy in Stockholm in



Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld.

1858. He made a number of northern expeditions. He definitely located Spitzbergen. He penetrated deeper into the interior of Greenland than any explorer had done before. He made a careful study of polar ice fields and arctic currents and was firmly persuaded that there was open water north of Asia, and, hence, that a circumnavigation of the Old World of Europe, Asia, and Africa was possible, which had theretofore been declared impossible.

In 1878, with the "Vega" and two other ships, he set out on this adventure. Through a narrow channel between icefields and the coast of Asia the Vega passed during the fall, but on the last of September she was frozen in and remained so until about midsummer the next year, When Nordenskiöld could continue his voyage. He passed through Bering Strait and reached Japan. From Yokohama he announced to the world that the "Northeast Passage" had been discovered.

Sven Hedin. In our own day, Sven Hedin has won fame as the foremost modern Swedish explorer, through his expeditions in Central Asia. He has had to struggle for life in the burning heat of



Sven Hedin.

mighty deserts and on ice-covered mountains of Tibet, in want and privation. But he has succeeded in exploring, mapping, and describing immense regions before unknown.

CHAPTER XXV

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

A. THE UNION OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY

Nature of the Union. The Union of Sweden and Norway did not unite them into one nation. Each country retained its independent national existence. They only agreed to have the same king, to stand together as one in all foreign relations, and to support each other in case of war. Each was to have its own legislative body and its own system of courts.

The Dissatisfaction of the Norwegians. The Norwegians soon began to weaken the bonds of the union. They could not forget that the union had been forced upon them. That the union with Sweden afforded their country greater security they cared less for than to win complete independence. Mutual suspicion arose, and neither party could fully understand the other. With each passing year they were brought nearer to the separation. The chief Norwegian leader in this agitation was the great nationalist and poet Björnstjerne Björnson. He expressed his hatred of the union in a couplet which may be rendered into English thus:

"The pact 'neath which we agonize
We hate and we anathematize."

The Dissolution of the Union. On June 7, 1905, the Norwegian Storting began the revolution by deposing their king, Oscar II, and declaring the union dissolved.

By this time the Swedish people were thoroughly disgusted with the union squabble. There was a common sentiment among them that a union supported by force was not worth much. But on the other hand, the Norwegians should not alone dissolve a union that both had formed. Sweden should also have its say in the matter. This sentiment was expressed at the Riksdag summoned by the king. This Riksdag declared that Sweden was willing to have the union dissolved if the Norwegians would agree to certain demands on the part of the Swedes.

Thereupon Swedish and Norwegian delegates met for negotiation at Karlstad. These negotiations were long drawn out, and at one time they were nearly broken off, and war clouds seemed to hang threateningly over the Scandinavian Peninsula. Finally, however, both parties signed the Karlstad agreements. The Norwegians agreed to discontinue the fortifications they had begun along the Swedish border. The territories on both sides of the line were to be a neutral zone, in which no military operations were to be undertaken. Future disputes were to be submitted to the Hague Court of International Arbitration. By these provisions Sweden had received the recognition and guarantees of future security which the Riksdag demanded. A new Riksdag assembled, which accepted the Karlstad agreements and declared the union dissolved, 1905.

B. FOREIGN RELATIONS BEFORE AND AFTER THE WORLD WAR

Policy of the North during the War. The World War taught the three Northern peoples that they belonged together and that in unity there is strength. Though they escaped the direct burdens of the war, they were not exempt from its ravages. Many of their merchant vessels engaged in lawful traffic, bound for their home ports with goods greatly needed, were attacked and sunk, ships, men, and all; others were captured, taken to a foreign port, and there detained. These and other violations of the rights of neutral nations led the three Scandinavian nations to feel the need of mutual support. Hence, Gustav V of Sweden invited the Scandinavian kings to meet at Malmö in December, 1914. There the kings agreed on plans for a rational exchange of goods and on other measures for the relief of economic difficulties which the war occasioned in the North. They also agreed on united neutrality. Later new meetings were held by representatives of the three governments, and measures were agreed upon for the good of the Scandinavian North.

Some Good Results of the War. As one happy result of the war, Finland, after severe trials, freed itself from Russian despotism and was recognized as an independent state. Its people had, however, to endure the most terrible of all evils that can happen to a country, the horrors of civil war.

To the Danes likewise the war brought a great, a long desired good fortune. At the Peace Conference of Versailles, 1919, the great powers—England, France,

United States, and Italy—agreed that the people of Schleswig should by a plebiscite decide whether they would belong to their old fatherland or to Prussia. The result was that the northern part of Schleswig returned to Denmark.

One would fain believe that for mankind as a whole the terrible lessons of the war may not have been given in vain, and that in future disputes between nations the voice of reason may triumph over hate and violence. One would also hope that the League of Nations, to which all three of the Scandinavian kingdoms belong, may prevent at least the civilized part of mankind from again staining themselves with human blood in another war. But there yet remain many disturbing elements in the world.

CHAPTER XXVI

EPILOGUE

A. SWEDES OUTSIDE OF SWEDEN

Significance of Language. Nothing contributes more largely to cultural affinity among people than a common language. A cultural relationship exists between those who speak, read, and understand the Swedish language wherever they may dwell. There are nine million people speaking the Swedish language. Of these three million live outside of Sweden.

In Europe and Other Lands. Of these nearly half a million dwell in lands beyond the Baltic that were once

Swedish possessions. Others live in various parts of the world outside of Europe. Most of these are found in North America: in the United States and Canada.

Immigration to the United States. Swedish immigration to the United States began in real earnest near the middle of the nineteenth century, and after the close of the Civil War, in 1865, for over a quarter of a century it was very large.

These immigrants settled almost wholly in the northern states, where the climate corresponds more nearly to that of their old homeland. Most of them founded homes in the Middle West, where the bulk of them turned to agricultural pursuits. Many of them also helped to build up the cities of the Northwest. They and their descendants now form a substantial part of the population of Chicago and Minneapolis and of many other cities. Chicago now has the third largest population of Swedish extraction of any city, exceeded only by Stockholm and Gothenburg. Some of the earlier and much of the later immigration also settled in the East, in New England, New York, and Pennsylvania.

Adaptability of the Swedes. These immigrants have found very little difficulty in adapting themselves to the political and social conditions in the United States, for these conditions are much the same as those they were accustomed to in their mother country.

Organizations. Among their many organizations, religious and social, the Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod ranks first, numbering more than a third of a million people.

B. THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS ON THE DELAWARE

The Founding of New Sweden. Sweden was the third of the four European nations that established colonies within the original territory of the United States. In 1626 Gustavus Adolphus organized and chartered a trading company with the immediate object of colonizing the western shores of Delaware Bay and River, for the purpose of developing Swedish commerce and spreading the gospel of Christ among the heathen inhabitants of the land. But owing to the king's participation in the Thirty Years' War and his death at Lützen in 1632, the plan was for a time abandoned. It was, however, soon renewed by Chancellor Oxenstiern, regent of the realm under the young queen, Christina. But several years elapsed before the project could be put into effect. In the meantime King Charles I had relinquished England's claims to the land the Swedes were to colonize.

The First Expedition. This set sail from Gothenburg in the fall of 1637 under command of Peter Minuit. It consisted of a ship of war, the "Key of Calmar," and a smaller vessel, the "Bird Griffin," with crew and passengers, and laden with provisions, ammunition, and merchandise suitable for trade with the natives.

They first landed, in the spring of 1638, near the site of the present town of Lewes, Delaware, at what they called Paradise Point. From there they proceeded up the bay till it narrowed into the mouth of the Delaware. A small tributary on the west side they named Christina Creek. This they ascended a short distance to the place now occupied by the city of Wilmington.

The First Settlement. There they located, purchased a few acres from an Indian chief, and erected a small inclosure, which they named Ft. Christina. Within this inclosure a storehouse was built and later a chapel. Fresh bands of colonists arrived from time to time, bringing with them new supplies, merchandise, cattle and other domestic animals.

Treaty with the Indians. The colonists entered into a friendly treaty with the Indians and purchased a large tract of land from them, extending along the west side of the bay and river from Cape Henlopen to Trenton Falls. This territory was named New Sweden. Friendly relations with the Indians were ever maintained by the Swedes, and this policy was afterwards pursued by William Penn.

Government of the Colony. Peter Minuit remained as commander at Fort Christina until his death. His successor, Peter Hollander, administered the government for nearly two years and then returned to Sweden. He was succeeded by John Printz, who was appointed governor in 1642. The new governor took possession of the Island of Tinicum in the Delaware, nine miles southwest of Philadelphia. There he built a fort and a brick residence, and from there directed the affairs of New Sweden for ten years, after which he, too, returned to Sweden, leaving the affairs of the government in the hands of his son-in-law, John Papegoya, as vice governor. He was succeeded by John Rising, who arrived in 1654. He established his residence at Christina. With him came an engineer, Peter Lindström, who has furnished us a map of New Sweden of that day.

In the meantime the Dutch had built Ft. Casimir on the west side of the Delaware a few miles below Ft. Christina. This fort was captured by John Rising. It was kept by the Swedes, was strengthened and improved, and named for the day of its capture Ft. Trinity.

The Fall of New Sweden. The energetic Peter Stuyvesant, then governor of New Netherlands, fitted out an expedition for the conquest of New Sweden. Charles X Gustavus, whose reign (1654–1660) was filled with continuous wars with Poland and Denmark, failed to protect his possessions in the New World. Governor Rising was compelled to capitulate in 1655, and New Sweden came to an end. The Dutch held the country for nine years, when they in turn had to surrender to the English in 1664.

In the articles of capitulation it was provided that the Swedes were not to be disturbed in their possessions, nor in their religion, and that they should have the privilege of maintaining a pastor. Governor Rising returned to Sweden the same year.

Extension of Swedish Settlements. In 1648, ten years after the erection of Fort Christina, a settlement was made about fifteen miles further up the river, called Upland by the Swedes, now known as Chester, Pa. Governor Printz had already taken possession of Tinicum Island and there built a fort and official residence. These were the first settlements made by Europeans in the present state of Pennsylvania, nearly forty years before the arrival of William Penn.

Between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, on the present site of Philadelphia, another settlement was

made and a congregation established, known in the records of the time as Wicaco. Opposite this settlement on the west side of the Schuylkill another one was made and a mission established at Kingessing, and about fifteen miles further up the Schuylkill was Upper Merion. In all these places Swedish churches were established. To the north and northwest of these places there were other smaller Swedish communities.

In New Jersey settlements were made and congregations organized and churches built at Raccoon Creek, or Swedesboro, and at Pennsneck. There were besides several smaller Swedish settlements in New Jersey.

Early Religious Work. The first pastor, Reorus Torkillus, arrived at Christina with the second expedition. A place of worship was erected within the fortifications at Christina. After a little more than three years of faithful service he died. His remains rest under the southern end of the Old Swedes' Church at Wilmington. His successor, Rev. John Campanius, arrived in the colony together with Governor Printz. He seems to have located at Tinicum, where a church was built, which served the congregation for over fifty years. He remained in the colony for five years, and was untiring in his work among the scattered congregations and communities. In addition to his regular duties as preacher and pastor, he began mission work among the Indians. He learned their language and translated Luther's Small Catechism into their tongue. He prepared also a vocabulary of the Delaware language. This catechism with the vocabulary was published at the expense of Charles XI, in 1696, and five hundred copies were sent over to the colony.

During the latter years of the Swedish government of the colony four pastors were sent out, Israel Holgh, Lars Lock, Matthias Nertunius, and Peter Hjort. Of these the first named returned home after a brief stay, the last two arrived at the same time as Governor Rising. In 1655, after the capitulation, they together with Governor Rising returned to Sweden, leaving only Rev. Lock to care for the scattered Swedish congregations. This he continued to do until his death in 1688. With advancing years and failing strength, however, he found it impossible to serve all the congregations alone. The congregation at Wicaco, therefore, called the Dutch Lutheran pastor, Rev. Jacob Fabritius, as their pastor, in 1677. A block-house, erected nine years before, was converted into a church, and there, on Trinity Sunday of that year, he preached his first sermon. Five years later he became blind, but continued in the work to the time of his death.

The Coming of William Penn. The grant of Pennsylvania and Delaware to William Penn, and his arrival, in 1682, did not materially affect the condition of the Swedes. In a letter to England the year after his arrival, he writes concerning the settlers already well established in his province: "The Swedes inhabit the freshes of the river Delaware. There is no need of giving any description of them, who are better known in England than here. . . . They kindly received me, as well as the English, who were few before the people concerned with me came among them. I must needs commend their respect to authority, and kind behavior to the English. They do not degenerate from the old friendship between both kingdoms. As they are a peo-

ple proper and strong of body, so have they fine children, and almost every house full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys and as many girls; some six, seven, and eight sons. And I must do them the justice to say, I see few young men more sober and industrious."

At the Close of the Seventeenth Century. After the capitulation to the Dutch, Sweden seems to have entirely forgotten her people in the New World for a period of forty years. When her attention was again called to the shores of the Delaware, it was to a mission and not to a colony. When Rev. Lock died and Rev. Fabritius, on account of age and infirmity, was unable to serve the congregations, divine services were still held in the churches, readers were appointed, hymns were sung, and sermons were read. The attendance, however, was small, composed mostly of older people. Appeals were made both to Sweden and to Holland for pastors, but no response came.

Arrival of Andrew Printz. A young man named Andrew Printz, a nephew of the early governor, John Printz, made a visit to the settlements of his countrymen on the Delaware. He was heartily received by them. Visits from Sweden were then very rare. He made himself well acquainted with the conditions among the settlers, and on his return to Sweden he communicated this information to the postmaster John Thelin at Gothenburg. Thelin was deeply moved by this recital and appealed to King Charles XI in behalf of his people on the Delaware. Encouraged by the king, Thelin wrote a long letter asking the people over there to furnish full particulars and to tell their needs

and their wishes, assuring them of the king's willingness to furnish them the needed help.

This letter brought great joy to the settlements. It was answered by Charles Springer. This notable man had been in the service of the Swedish ambassador in London, had there been abducted, carried to Virginia, and sold as an indentured servant for five years. While there he heard of his countrymen on the Delaware, and as soon as he was liberated, he went to them. He was a man of high character, good education, and earnest piety. He soon became a leader at Christina, as reader he conducted the services in the church, and was now urged to answer Thelin's letter.

In this letter a full account is given of conditions in the settlements, the fertility of the soil, the occupation of the people, their relation to the Indians, the Dutch, and the English. Two pastors were asked for and a goodly supply of books: Bibles, Postils, Handbooks, Devotional books, Catechisms, and Primers. They promised to support the pastors and to pay for all the books.

In response to this letter three clergymen were sent: Andrew Rudman, Eric Björk, and Jonas Aurén. The first two were to serve as pastors, and the last named was sent by the king to make a survey of the land, prepare a map of it, study the conditions of the country and then return and report to the king. The books were sent as a donation from the king. In this donation were included five hundred copies of the Indian Catechism translated by Campanius and not published until now. Aurén's report was never made, for before

the missionaries reached America the good king had passed away.



Gloria Dei Church, Philadelphia.

Arrival of the Missionaries. These missionaries reached their destination near the end of June in 1697. "The joy of the people at our arrival I can not adequately describe," wrote Björk in a letter to Sweden.

Rudman became pastor at Wicaco, and Björk located at Christina.

The Building of Two Noted Churches. With noble enthusiasm and willing sacrifice, the people set about to raise funds for the erection of a substantial church at Wicaco. The same was done at Christina. There the construction was begun in 1698 and completed the next year. The church was built of granite and was sixty feet long, thirty feet wide and twenty feet high. It was dedicated on Trinity Sunday, July 4, 1699, and received the name of Holy Trinity Church. It is now known as the "Old Swedes' Church" of Wilmington.

The building of the church at Wicaco was delayed for some time owing to dispute as to its location. This dispute having finally been amicably settled, the building went rapidly forward. The size of the church was the same as that of Trinity at Christina. The foundation was of stone and the superstructure of brick. The church was dedicated on the first Sunday after Trinity, July 2, 1700. It received the name of Gloria Dei. It is located in the southern part of Philadelphia.

Establishment of a New Pastorate. Shortly after this a third pastorate was established. It consisted of two congregations on the Jersey side of the Delaware: one at Raccoon, or Swedesboro, and the other at Pennsneck. Each congregation had its own church, frame structures. In 1784, during the pastorate of Nicholas Collin, a fine brick church, sixty by forty feet and thirty feet high, was erected at Raccoon.

A Bright Period in the Swedish Mission. With the coming of the two pastors, Rudman and Björk, a bright

period opened to the Swedish Lutheran Mission on the Delaware, extending down to the American Revolution.

The mission had a faithful and energetic friend and spokesman in Dr. Jesper Svedberg for a long period of nearly forty years. When he was appointed bishop of Skara by Charles XII, in 1702, he was given the general supervision of the Swedish mission in America. This position he held to the time of his death in 1735. Warm friends and supporters of the mission were also the successive archbishops,



Bishop Jesper Svedberg.

the Uppsala chapter, and the kings. During the period of seventy-nine years (1696–1775) no less than thirty pastors were sent over to the mission.*

The Language Question. For over a hundred years the Swedish language was used almost exclusively in the churches of the Swedish mission. But gradually

* One of the most noted of these pastors was Provost Israel Acrelius, who wrote a detailed history of New Sweden to the year 1756, when, on account of ill health he returned to Sweden. The work was dedicated to Queen Louisa Ulrica by the author and published by him in Stockholm in 1759. It has been translated into English by Dr. William M. Reynolds and published by The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

it became necessary to use the English, in part, as most of the young people knew no other language. By the intermarriage of the various nationalities the English language alone survived. During and after the American Revolution very few church members, except the very old, understood any Swedish at all. When English services were held in the churches of the mission, the Episcopal form of worship was used, as the Swedish liturgy had not been translated into English. The young people became accustomed to this service and liked it. During his career, Dr. Collin had eight Episcopal assistants. As English Lutheran pastors could not be secured, the congregations called Episcopal pastors, some of whom were of Swedish descent. Rev. J. C. Clay, the successor of Dr. Collin as rector of Gloria Dei for thirty-two years, was of Swedish descent on his mother's side. For a long time these churches, thus left to themselves, remained independent of any denominational church connection. But, under the circumstances, it was natural that they should all, one by one, finally affiliate with the Episcopal Church.

The End of the Swedish Mission. In 1788 Rev. Lars Girelius of Christina and Rev. Nicholas Collin of Wicaco in a letter to the archbishop expressed the opinion that the Swedish mission must gradually come to an end, stating that the congregations desired thenceforth to elect their own pastors. Thereupon the archbishop, Uno von Troil, suggested to the king, Gustavus III, that the two pastors still remaining in the mission should be recalled on the same conditions as former pastors. By letter of May 26, 1789, the king approved the suggestion. In consequence of this act

Rev. Girelius returned to Sweden in 1791. Dr. Collin, however, remained as pastor of Wicaco (Gloria Dei) till his death October 7, 1831.

Thus ended the Swedish Mission on the Delaware. Nineteen years later, Swedish congregations were established in Andover and Moline, Illinois, by new bands of immigrants from Sweden. Thus the Swedes on the Delaware could almost touch hands with the Swedes on the Mississippi.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES OF SWEDISH RULERS

I. VARIOUS FAMILIES FROM ABOUT 990 TO 1389.

1. Early Kings,
2. The Stenkil Family,
3. The Sverker Family,
4. The Family of St. Eric,
5. The Folkung (or Birger Jarl) Family.

II. RULERS DURING THE PERIOD OF THE UNION, 1389-1523.

- III. THE HOUSE OF VASA, THE PALATINATE, THE HOLSTEIN-GOTTORP, 1523-1818
- IV. THE BERNADOTTE FAMILY, 1818—

TABLE I.

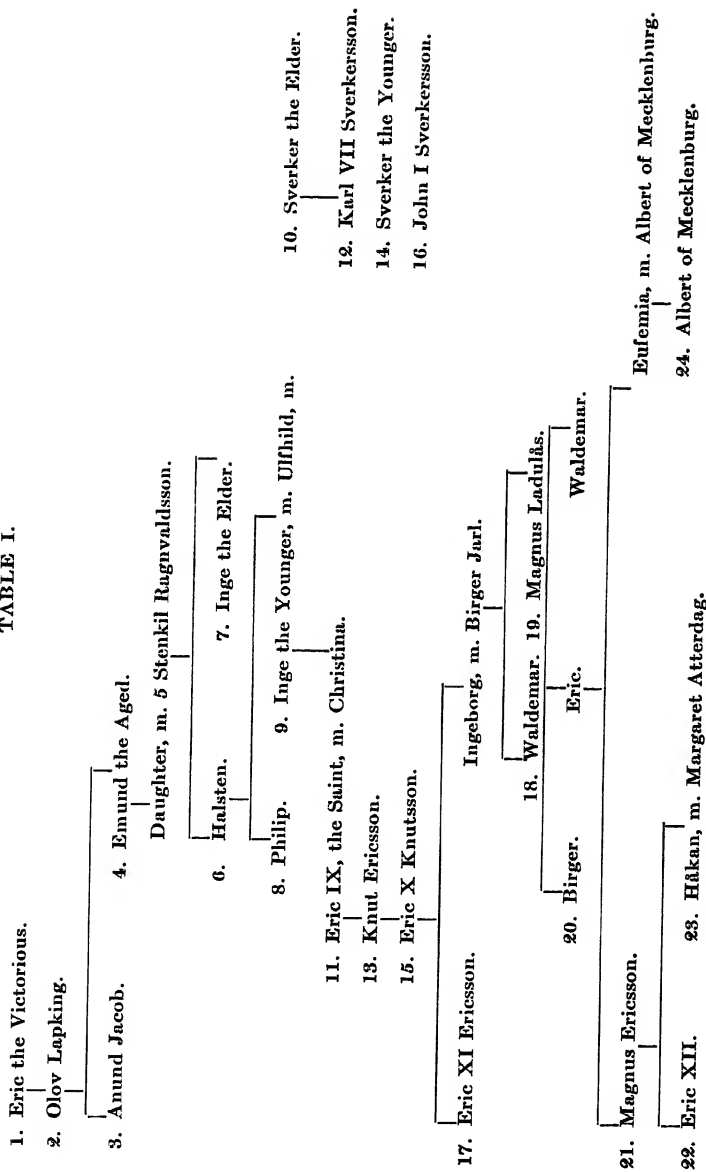


TABLE II.

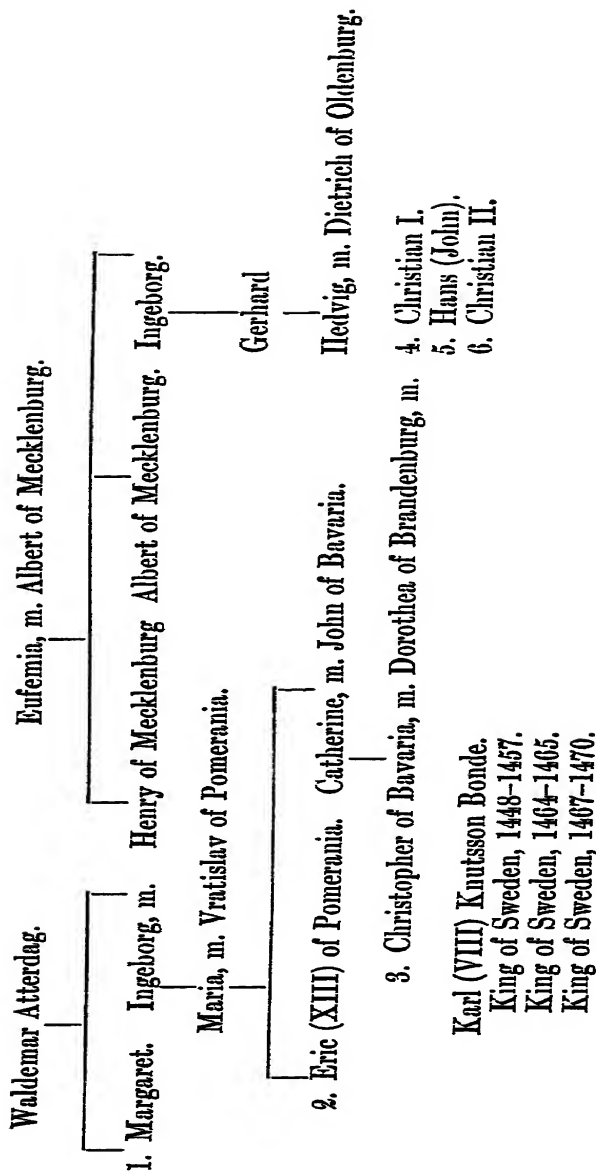


TABLE III.

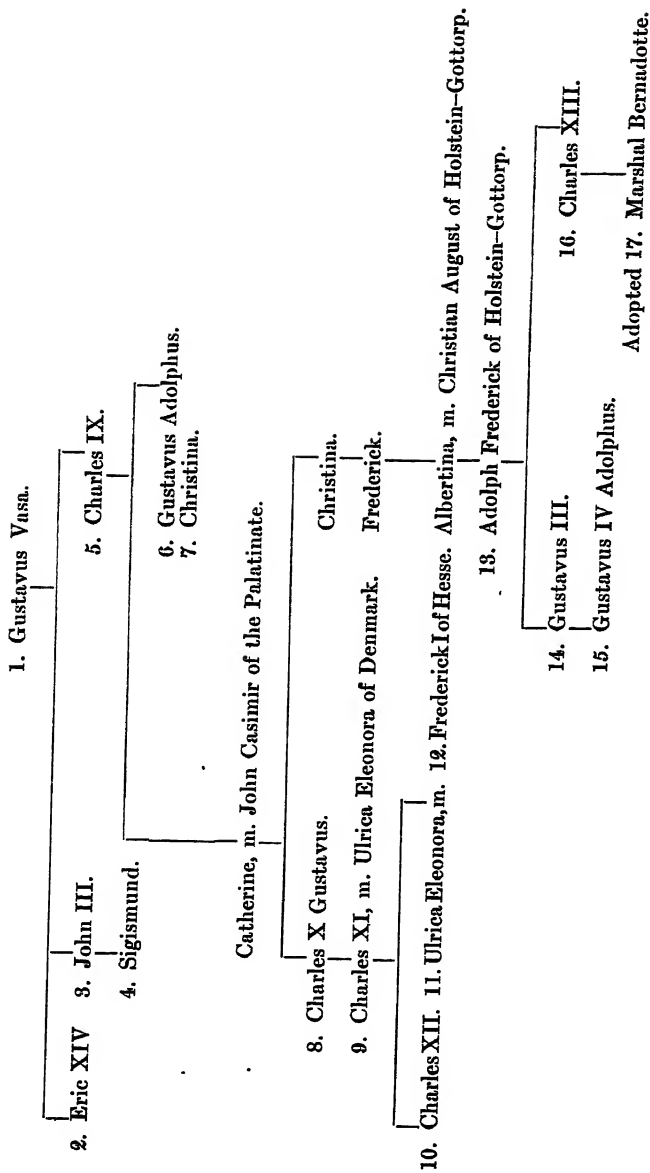
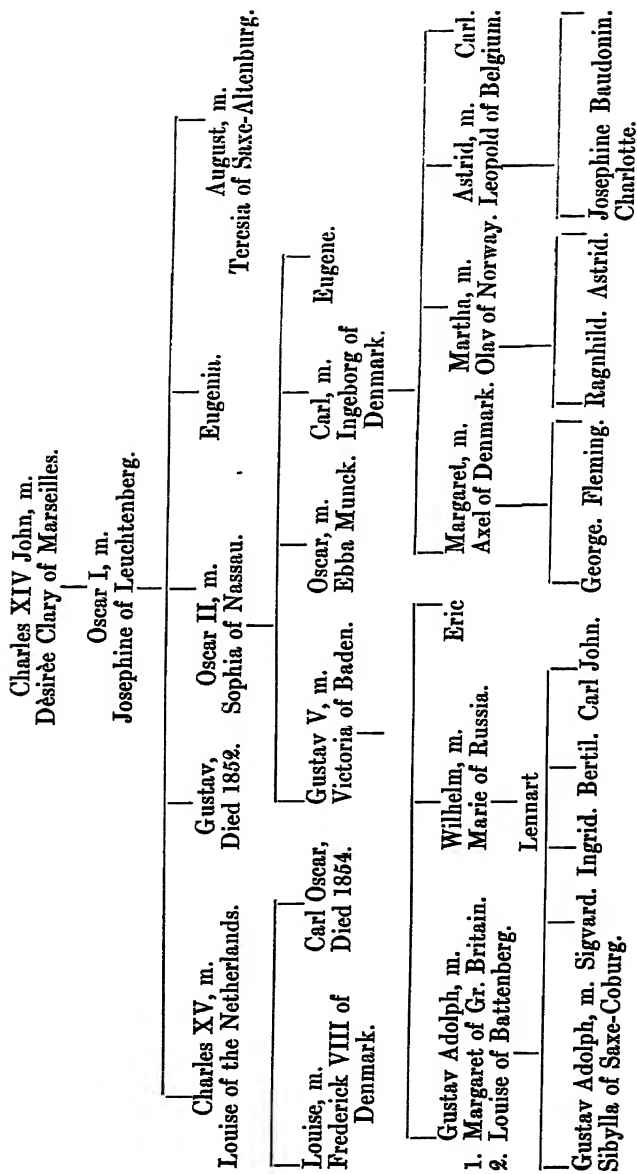


TABLE IV.



LEADING EVENTS IN SWEDISH HISTORY

A.D.

Beginning of the Viking Expeditions.....	Circa 800
St. Ansgar's first visit to Sweden, at Birka.....	Circa 830
St. Ansgar's second visit to Sweden.....	Circa 853
Founding of Novgorod, Russia, by Rurik.....	Circa 862
Battle on the Fyris Plain. Victory of Eric the Victorious.	Circa 990
Battle of Svolder.....	Circa 1000
Baptism of Olov Laping at Husaby Springs.....	Circa 1008
Extinction of the early royal line.....	Circa 1060
Period of the Stenkil Family.....	Circa 1060-1125
Period of the Sverker and Eric Families.....	Circa 1130-1250
Church Council in Linköping.....	1157
St. Eric's Crusade to Finland.....	1157
The Death of St. Eric.....	1160
Archiepiscopal See established at Uppsala.....	1164
Founding of Stockholm.....	1187
Church Council in Skeninge (Celibacy of the Clergy)....	1248
Birger Jarl's Second Crusade to Finland.....	1250
Period of the Folkung Family.....	1250-1371
Establishment of the Swedish Cavalry (Taxfree Nobility)	1280
Third Crusade to Finland (Torgils Knutsson's).....	1293
Death of Torgils Knutsson. The Håtuna Game.....	1306
The Nyköping Banquet (Gästabud).....	1317
Election of Magnus Ericsson at Mora.....	1319
First Union of Norway and Sweden.....	1319
Abolition of Slavery.....	1335
Sweden's first National Law (Rural).....	1350
Visitation of the Black Death.....	1350
Papal Sanction of St. Birgitta's Cloister Order..... (Forced from Albert of Mecklenburg.)	1370
First royal declaration of rights.....	1371
Battle of Falköping. Victory of Margaret.....	1389
Coronation of Eric of Pomerania, a united act of the three kingdoms	1397
War of Liberation under Engelbrektsson.....	1434
First general regularly constituted Riksdag met at Ar- boga,	Jan. 3, 1435
Karl Knutsson (Charles VIII) chosen king.....	1448
Norway united with Denmark.....	1450-1814
Flight of Karl Knutsson. Christian I chosen king.....	1457
Civil War. Karl for a second and third time king....	1463-1470
On the death of Karl Sten Sture the Elder elected Regent at Arboga Riksdag.....	1470
Battle of Brunkeberg, victory of Sten Sture the Elder over Christian I.....	1471

Founding of Uppsala University.....	1477
Battle of Brännkyrka, victory over Christian II by Sten Sture the Younger.....	1518
Massacre of Stockholm	1520
War of Liberation under Gustavus Vasa begun.....	1521
Gustavus Vasa elected regent at Vadstena.....	1521
Surrender of Stockholm. Entrance of Gustavus Vasa....	1523
Final dissolution of the Union.....	1523
Gustavus Vasa unanimously chosen king at Riksdag in Strengnäs	June 6, 1524
Translation of the New Testament by Olavus Petri and associates	1526
The Riksdag of Vesterås.....	1527
The fall of the commercial dominion of Lübeck.....	1537
The Dacke Insurrection.....	1542-1543
The Vesterås Succession Act. Sweden became a hereditary monarchy	1544
Death of Gustavus Vasa. Succession of Eric XIV.....	1560
Deposition and Imprisonment of Eric XIV.....	1568
His brother John III succeeded to the throne.....	1568
The Northern Seven Years' War.....	1563-1570
The Peace of Stettin.....	1570
Controversy over the Liturgy, adoption of the Red Book..	1577
Death of Eric XIV.....	1577
Election of Sigismund to the throne of Poland.....	1587
Death of John III.....	1592
The Convention of Uppsala under the lead of Duke Charles	1593
The Coronation of Sigismund as king of Sweden.....	1593
Estrangement of the Council from Duke Charles and the Estates	1595
The Battle of Stångebro. Flight of Sigismund.....	1598
Deposition of Sigismund by a Riksdag at Stockholm.....	1599
The Linköping Slaughter (Blodbad).....	1600
The Norrköping Succession Act.....	1604
War with Russia begun.....	1609
War with Denmark begun (known as the Kalmar War) ..	1611
Death of Charles IX. Succession of Gustavus Adolphus..	1611
Peace with Denmark at Knäred.....	1613
Treaty of Stolbova with Russia.....	1617
First Riksdag Regulations adopted.....	1617
War with Poland. Siege and Capture of Riga.....	1621
Scene of the Polish War moved to Prussia.....	1626
Truce for six years between Sweden and Poland at Altmark	1629
Sweden entered the Thirty Years' War.....	1630
Gustavus Adolphus landed in Pomerania.....	1630
Fall of Magdeburg under Tilly	May, 1631
Battle of Breitenfeld	Sept. 7, 1631

Gustavus Adolphus in winterquarters at Mainz.....	1632
Battle of Lützen. Death of Gustavus Adolphus...Nov. 6,	1632
Administration of Axel Oxenstiern	1632-1644
Reign of Christina.....	1632-1654
Battle of Nördlingen.....	1634
Settlement of New Sweden at Christina, Delaware.....	1638
Personal Rule of Christina.....	1644-1654
Treaty of Brömsebro with Denmark.....	1645
Treaty of Westphalia.....	1648
Abdication of Queen Christina.....	1654
Accession of Charles X Gustavus—Bipontine Family....	1654
War with Poland.....	1655
Fall of New Sweden under the Dutch.....	1655
New War with Denmark.....	1657
Crossing of the Belts.....	1658
Treaty of Roskilde.....	1658
Renewed War with Denmark.....	1658
Death of Charles X Gustavus.....	1660
Reign of Charles XI.....	1660-1697
Government under a board of regents.....	1660-1672
Treaty of Oliva with Poland.....	1660
Treaty of Copenhagen with Denmark.....	1660
Founding and Opening of the University of Lund.....	1668
Establishment of National Bank.....	1668
Charles XI declared of age.....	1672
War with Denmark (Declaration by Christian V).....	1675
Battle of Lund.....	1676
Treaty of Lund.....	1679
Inquiry into the mismanagement of the Regents and the Council	1680
Resumption Acts	1680, 1682
Absolutism established	1682
Death of Charles XI.....	1697
Reign of Charles XII.....	1697-1718
Opening of the Great Northern War.....	1700
Battle of Narva	1700
War against Augustus of Poland and Saxony.....	1702-1706
The treaty of Altranstädt.....	1706
Battle of Poltava (Charles fled to Turkey).....	1709
Capitulation at the Dnieper.....	1709
The Battle of Helsingborg. Victory of Magnus Stenbock	1710
The Kalabalik in Bender.....	1713
Charles XII returned home after five years in Turkey....	1714
Surrender of Stralsund. Charles escaped to Sweden.....	1715
The Siege of Fredrikssten. Death of Charles XII.Nov. 30,	1718
Abolition of Absolutism. Election of Ulrica Eleonora as queen	1719
Treaty of Stockholm with England-Hanover.....Nov. 20,	1719

Treaty of Stockholm with Prussia.....	Feb. 1, 1720
Transfer of the crown to Frederick of Hesse—Cassel	
.....	March 24, 1720
Treaty of Fredriksborg with Denmark.....	June 14, 1720
Administration of Arvid Horn.....	1720-1738
Treaty of Nystad with Russia.....	Aug. 30, 1721
New General Code of Laws.....	1734
Fall of Arvid Horn. Triumph of the Hat Party.....	1738
War with Russia.....	1741-1743
Capitulation of Helsingfors.....	1742
Treaty of Åbo. Choice of Adolph Frederick as Crown Prince	
.....	1743
Hostile attitude of Russia. Founding of Sveaborg by Ehrensvärd	
.....	1749
Death of Frederick I.....	1751
Accession of Adolph Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp.....	1751
Unsuccessful attempt of the Court at a Coup d'Etat.....	1756
Sweden's unsuccessful part in the Seven Years' War.....	1757-1762
Fall of the Hat Party.....	1765
Reign of Gustavus III.....	1771-1792
First Coup d'Etat of Gustavus.....	1772
War with Russia.....	1788-1790
The Anjala Conspiracy.....	1788
Second Coup d'Etat. Absolutism restored.....	1789
The Viborg Gauntlet and the Victory at Svenskund....	1790
Assassination of Gustavus.....	1792
Reign of Gustavus IV Adolphus.....	1792-1809
Sweden joined England, Russia, and Austria in Coalition against Napoleon	
.....	1805
Treaty of Tilsit between Napoleon and Alexander of Russia	
.....	1807
War with Russia—the Finnish War.....	1808-1809
Treaty of Fredrikshamn—Cession of Finland to Russia..	1809
Deposition of Gustavus IV Adolphus.....	1809
New Constitution adopted	1809
Steam power introduced by Owen.....	1809
Reign of Charles XIII.....	1809-1818
Election of Marshal Bernadotte as crown prince.....	1810
War with Napoleon—Battle of Leipsic.....	1813
Congress of Vienna	1814-1815
Union of Norway and Sweden confirmed by both countries	
.....	1815
Reign of Charles XIV John	1818-1844
Beginning of Modern Newspapers	1830
Opening of Gotha Canal	1832
Public School Act (Regulation of Public School)...	1842-1850
Reign of Oscar I	1844-1859
Abolition of the Guild System.....	1846
Visit of Fredrica Bremer to America.....	1849-1852
Beginning of railroad building	1855

Establishment of free trade	1855
Reign of Charles XV	1859-1872
Reforms of the Riksdag. Two elected chambers.....	1866
Reign of Oscar II	1872-1907
The Northeast Passage discovered by Nordenskiöld..	1878-1880
Triumph of the Protectionists.....	1888
New defensive system based on universal training.....	1891
Convention of Karlstad. End of the Union.....	1905
Haakon VII chosen king of Norway.....	1905
Reign of Gustav V	1907—
Universal male suffrage established.....	1909
Proportional representation	1909
Woman suffrage established	1921

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